

REX REDUX: J
 OR, THE
 RESTORATION

Of his Sacred Majesty

CHARLES II.

Of Pious Memory,

To his Hereditary Kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland, on the Twenty Ninth of May in the Year 1660. With the Precedent Actions and Passages, that contributed thereunto.

Extracted out of the Earl of Clarendon's History, Sir Philip Warwick's and Ludlow's Memoirs, &c.

*Turne, quod optanti Divum promittere nemo
 Auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultra.*

Virg.

L O N D O N,

Printed for J. Baker at the Black-Boy in Pater-noster-Row. M.DCC.XII.

Price One Shilling.

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PREFACE.

AS no Sorts of Writings are so generally enquir'd after, as those which are Historical, so no Parts of History affect the Reader more, than such as relate to his own Times and Nation. This it self is sufficient to justify the publishing of the following Sheets, which contain such surprising Turns, such remarkable Passages as are not to be equal'd in any History whatever, especially if we consider the Shortness of the Time in which they were transacted.

The Death of Cromwell, which happen'd on the 3d of Sept. 1658. gave the first Motion to those secret Causes which operated so wonderfully to the happy Restoration of his Majesty on the 29th of May in the Year 1660. Every thing after that, how perversly soever undertaken, concurr'd to that great End, and the final Settlement of these distracted Kingdoms on the antient Foundation. They appear'd indeed, like Epicurus his Atoms, to act at random, and without the least Concert; but they were conducted by the invisible Hand of that Almighty Power, which is able to draw Light out of Darkness, and make the Counsels of Men serve to Purposes they never intended. And this may be consider'd as a further Reason for the Publication of the ensuing Treatise: It is to awaken in our Minds the Sense of God's Providence, which appears in nothing so visible as in the several Revolutions of Kingdoms and Nations.

After the Death of the Usurper, the Scene was shifted almost every day, and some new Farce was to be

presented on the Publick Theatre. The Son was proclaim'd and vested with all the Power and Authority of his Father: but after a short Respit, this Mock-King was push'd off the Stage, to make way for the Leading Men in the Army; who having acted with much Bluster for some time, were dethron'd by the Rump, as the Rump was not long after by Lambert; who being out in his Part, was soon hiss'd of, and the Rump once more restor'd; who continu'd the Farce till they were constrain'd by Monk to admit of the seclused Members, which ended in their Dissolution, and That made way for a full and free Parliament.

This is the Summary of those many Revolutions during which the Government of these Kingdoms was banded from one Hand to another; and the chief Agents were like so many Robbers who had secur'd the Prey, but quarrel'd among themselves so long about the dividing of the Spoil, till they were caught in their own Net, and in the Snare they had privily laid for others were their Feet taken.

In the following Sheets the Reader will find Rebellion making its last Efforts, and struggling under its agonizing Pains. How did it transform it self into all Shapes, and court all Partys? It went from Strength to Strength, from the Army to the Senate, from the Presbyterian to the Sectarian: It saw with Amazement the Approach of its Ruine, and omitted nothing to prevent or delay it. Indeed it had taken such deep Root in the Land, that nothing under Heaven, but a Division among those who had sown and cultivated it, would have been able to have pluck'd it up. Bnt thus it was, those Men were insatuated to their own Ruin, and with their own Hands destroy'd the Idol they had been so long a raising; according to the old Axiom, Quos vult perdere Deus dementat. May the Calamities of those Times teach us to put a true Value on our present Happiness, and may the Follies of our Fathers teach us to be wiser in our Generation!

Rex Redux :

O R,

*The Restoration of his Sacred
Majesty King Charles II.
of Pious Memory, &c.*

IT was the general Expectation of all Men both at home and abroad, that the Death of the Usurper *Cromwell*, which happen'd on the third of September in the Year 1658. would be attended with some signal Alterations: all Parties drawing such Consequences from it as seem'd best to suit with their particular Views and Inclinations. The Commonwealthsmen hop'd that the Soldiers being now deliver'd from their Servitude to the General, would join with them, and restore the Rump, as it was

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justly

justly term'd, as the only means left to preserve themselves, and the People. The Cavaliers were in great hopes, that some Divisions might arise, and give them an Opportunity of advancing the King's Interest; and his Majesty himself expected much from the general Affection of the Kingdom, and the fair Promises he had receiv'd from Men of Interest in it, who undertook to prepare for such a Conjunction.

There were never greater Divisions known in the Nation, than at that time. Those, who had with much Unanimity carry'd on the great Work of Rebellion, were then split into Parties, and weaken'd by intestine Feuds and Animosities. The Points of Religion were never canvass'd with greater Acrimony, between the Presbyterians and Sectaries: nor were the Presbyterians at Unity among themselves; some of them being most obstinately devoted to their Idol a Commonwealth, whereas others were inclin'd to receive the King, provided it might be done upon their own Terms, and exclusive of Episcopacy. The like Dissensions were also observ'd in the Army, where *Cromwell* was become very odious before his Death, and which was now without a Head; the Officers being grown diffident, and jealous of one another, and ready on every occasion to enter into Cabals, and the Soldiers prone to mutiny for want of their Arrears. *Lambert* had been disgrac'd,
and

and broken by *Cromwell*; and being a Man of the next Authority to him in the Army, he had a great many Friends, who on his account paid an unwilling Obedience to the Usurper's Authority, and bore a particular Hatred to his Friends and Dependants. And yet notwithstanding this Temper in the Nation, these Dispositions in the Army, his Son *Richard*, whom he had declar'd his Successor a few hours before his Death, to the great Disappointment of some others whom he had flatter'd with that Expectation, was proclaim'd the next morning after his Death at *Westminster*, *Temple-Bar*, and the *Old Exchange*; and soon after receiv'd the Congratulations of the Army, the Navy, and the City, who all appear'd more unanimous for his Service, than they had been for his Father's; and most of the Counties throughout *England* by Addresses under their Hands testify'd their Obedience to their new Sovereign without any hesitation. At the same time foreign Princes address'd their Condolances to him, and desir'd to renew their Alliances; and nothing was heard in *England*, but the Voice of Joy, and large Encomiums of their new Protector. This gave a sudden damp to all those of the King's Party: a more favourable Conjunction than the Death of *Cromwell* was not to be expected; the Issue of which however serv'd only to blast all their Hopes, and confirm their utmost Despair.

However, *Richard's* Felicity did not continue long; for the Necessities of the Government daily increasing, it was thought expedient by his Council to call a Parliament, which was summon'd to meet on the 27th of *January* 1659. and was the first Step taken towards the Dissolution of his Authority. During the Elections, the Court us'd their utmost endeavours to procure such Men to be chosen as were their Creatures; to which purpose they stuck at nothing that would serve their present Turn; and having all the Preferments as well Military as Civil in their Disposition, their Influence was very prevalent on that occasion: Notwithstanding which, and tho the Commons were oblig'd to sign an *Engagement* not to alter the present Government, yet they were no sooner sate, but the old Republican Spirit appear'd among 'em; which tho it cou'd not effectually prevail, yet it gave the Court many Perplexities, and much disturb'd the Method by which they had intended to proceed.

These Divisions and Altercations in the House, together with the drowsy unactive Temper of *Richard*, rais'd a Spirit in the Army, that open'd a new Scene, and gave another Turn to the Face of publick Affairs. The Army, as has been observ'd before, was divided into several Parties, and the Differences between them were grown to a very great height. One of them, and that which bore

bore the greatest Sway, was call'd the *Wal-
lingford-House Party*; who were the most in-
strumental in *Richard's* Advancement, and
therefore expected to govern all as they
pleas'd : but he soon cast them off, and join'd
himself to some others that seem'd more futa-
ble to his Inclinations. Whereupon they
that rais'd him, finding themselves abandon'd
by him, desir'd to renew their Correspon-
dence with the Commonwealthsmen ; and
accordingly had many Meetings with *Ludlow*,
and others of that kidney, by whose insti-
gation an Address was prepar'd by a new
Council of Officers, who met together by
their own Authority, and was deliver'd from
the Army by *Fleetwood* to *Richard* on *April 6.*
1659. containing a Complaint of the great
Arrears due to them, of the Insolence of Ma-
lignants, who traduc'd the Good Old Cause,
and held several secret Meetings in the City
of *London*, where their Numbers increas'd by
a Resort out of *Flanders* : they complain'd
likewise that the Names of the King's Judges
were lately printed, and scatter'd abroad, as if
they were design'd for Destruction ; by which,
as well as many other Instances, it was ma-
nifest that the Good Old Cause was in a de-
clining Condition : which therefore they were
resolv'd to assert, and besought his Highness
to represent those their Complaints to the
Parliament, and to require proper and speedy
Remedies. At the same time the City Mi-
litia

litia drew up a Remonstrance, and sent it to the Council of Officers; wherein they declar'd their Resolutions to stick by the Good Old Cause, and accompany the Army in whatsoever they should do for what they call'd the Nation's Good.

Richard was much terrify'd at these Proceedings, and carry'd the Alarm to the Parliament; where his Friends soon obtain'd a Vote, That there shou'd be no Meeting or General Council of Officers without the Protector's Consent, and by his Order. Notwithstanding this, the Officers, who were resolv'd to execute as well as order, had another Meeting; of which the House being inform'd, they declar'd *Cromwell* to be General of their Army, authorizing him to disperse the Officers to their respective Commands, and cashier such as he found refractory and disobedient. *Richard* having notice of these Votes, immediately went to the Place where the Council of Officers was assembled; and informing them of what was pass'd, told them he expected their Submission. They were not then prepar'd to dispute his Commands, and therefore withdrew; but the principal of them continu'd their Meetings in a more private manner, and seem'd resolv'd to force *Richard* to a Compliance with them. Information being given at *Whitehall*, that something extraordinary was in agitation among them, he sent
for

for *Fleetwood*, who refus'd to come to him, and retir'd from *Wallingford-House* to *St. James's*, where a general Rendezvous of the Army was appointed; and tho *Richard* had order'd a Counter-Rendezvous to be at the same time at *Whitehall*, yet even most of those Regiments that he thought best inclin'd to him fell from him, and march'd to *St. James's*. Being thus become a General without an Army, *Fleetwood* who had marry'd his Sister, and *Desborough* his Uncle, came to him from the rest of the Officers, and advis'd him forthwith to dissolve the Parliament, in which case he wou'd have the Army at his devotion; but if he refus'd, *Desborough* roughly told him he believ'd the Soldiers wou'd quickly pull him out of *Whitehall*; and having dissolv'd the Parliament without him, wou'd leave him to shift for himself.

The poor Man had not Spirit enough to discern what was best for him; and yet he was not without Friends to counsel him, if he had been capable to receive Counsel. Many Members of the Parliament, who were Men of Courage and Interest, repair'd to him with Assurance that the Parliament wou'd continue firm to him, and destroy the Ringleaders of this Sedition if he wou'd adhere to the Parliament; but if he were prevail'd upon to dissolve it, he wou'd be left without a Friend, and they who had compel'd him to do so imprudent an Action, wou'd

wou'd contemn him when he had done it. Nor were there wanting some Officers of the Army of equal Courage and Interest with any of the rest, who gave him the same Advice: One of them in particular offer'd to kill *Lambert* (who was consider'd as the Author of the Conspiracy) if he might have his Warrant to that purpose.

Tho this wou'd have been thought sufficient to encourage a Man of an ordinary Resolution, yet *Richard* suffer'd himself to be prevail'd upon by *Desborough* and his Companions; and soon found, when it was too late, that he had been betray'd by them: for from the minute that the Parliament was dissolv'd, no one resorted to him, nor was the Name of the Protector afterwards mention'd, but in Derision and Contempt.

The Son being thus stript in a moment of all the Greatness and Power which his Father had been so many years acquiring with wonderful Courage, Industry, and Resolution, most Men sat impatiently expecting the Consequences of this so sudden an Alteration. It was not known which way the Council of Officers, who had effected it, were generally inclin'd. The Commonwealth Party, who were vigilant on all Occasions, press'd 'em to restore the Rump, making large Promises of the Payment of their Arrears, and insinuating the danger they were all in from the King's Friends, who were not wanting in their Endeav-

Endeavours, in conjunction with the Presbyterians, to raise Tumults and Insurrections during the Publick Distractions. At the same time they made use of the Diffidence they knew the confederated Officers of *Wallingford-House* had of General *Monk* in *Scotland*, whom they accus'd of being engag'd in several questionable Correspondencies.

It is certain, that some time before this, the General's younger Brother had been to see him in *Scotland*. This Gentleman was a Divine, and had a Parsonage in his own Country, which was *Devonshire*, where he had through all the ill Times carry'd himself with a singular Integrity; and being of a good Family, was in great Reputation with all those, who had constantly adhered to the King. Sir *Hugh Pollard*, and Sir *John Greenvil* were both intimately acquainted with him, and had a Friendship for the General; wherefore they advis'd with him, whether since *Oliver* was now gone, and since it might reasonably be expected that his Death wou'd be attended with a general Revolution, by which the King's Interest wou'd be again disputed; he did not believe that the General might be wrought upon in a fit Conjunction to serve the King, in which they thought he wou'd be sure to meet with a universal Concurrence from the whole *Scotish* Nation. This Overture appear'd so reasonable, that the Clergy-man readily undertook

a Journey to his Brother in *Scotland* upon pretence of a Visit, and directly to propose it to him. Upon his arrival at *Edinburgh*, the General receiv'd him with much Kindness ; but when he had staid some time there, and found an Opportunity to tell him on what Errand he came, he soon dismiss'd him, advising him to return no more to him with such Propositions. It is true, at that time the General did not discover the least desire of contributing to the King's Restoration ; and some believe, that the Disposition, which afterwards grew in him towards it, did arise from divers Accidents, which fell out in the Course of Affairs, and seem'd even to oblige him to undertake that, which in the end conduced so much to his Greatness and Glory.

Before *Fleetwood*, and the rest wou'd give them any definitive Answer on that Head, or restore the Long Parliament to its Authority, as had been desir'd of them ; they thought fit to secure their own by reforming the Army, and removing all those Officers, who had dissuaded *Richard* from submitting to their Advice : which they therefore did ; and restor'd *Lambert*, and all those, who had been cashier'd by *Oliver*.

The Army being by this means become Republican to their Wish, they appointed a Committee of their Associates to meet some Members of the Parliament at Sir *Henry Vane's* House

House at *Charingcross*: where several previous Points demanded by those of the Army were debated, and some of 'em agreed unto, with some Restrictions, by the Members; and on the sixth of *May* a Declaration was publish'd by the Officers, inviting such Members to return to the Discharge of their Trust, as had continu'd sitting till the twentieth of *April* 1653. (which was the Day that *Cromwell*, with the Assistance of those very Officers, had pull'd them out of the House, and dismiss them) promising that they wou'd be ready in their Places to yield them their utmost Assistance, that they might sit, and consult in safety for the settling, and securing the Peace and Quiet of the Commonwealth.

This Declaration was seconded with what they call'd, *The Humble Petition, and Address of the Officers of the Army to the Parliament*; which contain'd several Advices, or rather positive Directions how they were to govern: and it has been justly observ'd, that in their Declaration they promise their Members safety for their Sitting, but not Obedience to what they shall determine.

The Army having thus given the Long Parliament leave to meet, tho they limited this Liberty only to such as continu'd sitting till *April* 1653. as has been before observ'd; yet several of those who had been excluded in *January* 1648. got in the first day, with

forty or fifty of those specified in the Declaration, and enter'd into Debate with them upon the matters propos'd ; which being observ'd, the House adjourn'd till the Day following, and then better Care was taken to inform the Guards who were, and who were not to go into the House. By this means that Cabal only was suffer'd to enter, which had first form'd the Commonwealth, and foster'd it for near five Years after it was born. This Return of the Government into these Mens Hands again, was the worst Change that cou'd happen to the King's Interest, and pull'd up all his Hopes by the Roots.

Soon after this Restoration of the Parliament, they sent to *Harry Cromwell*, whom his Father had made Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to come and attend them in Person : which he readily did, and laid his Commission at their Feet. The Satisfaction they receiv'd from this Compliance in a Man, whose Frankness of Humour, and general Civility towards all, had made him gracious and popular to all sorts of People, and consequently enabled him to dispute their Authority, was improv'd by the Declaration General *Monk* made in *Scotland*, of his Submission and Obedience to the Parliament, and the Assurance of the Fidelity of the Army under his Command to all their Determinations. Soon after this the Navy congratulated their Return to the Sovereign Power ; and the Foreign Ambassadors

Ambassadors had their Audiences from them, making all the Professions to them, which they had done to *Oliver*, and *Richard*. So that their Sovereignty seem'd confirm'd by the Submissions, and Acknowledgments of all, both at Home, and Abroad.

However, notwithstanding this seeming Calm, and Settlement of their Authority, the Temper they observ'd in the Army, gave the most intelligent among them much uneasiness; tho one of the first things they took care of, was to pass an Act of Indemnity, for all their former Transgressions, and Tergiversations. Nay, this very Act, which was design'd to oblige, and unite them to the Service and Interest of the Parliament, gave them great Offence. They complain'd that it was clog'd with too many Exceptions, and *Lambert* in particular declar'd that it signify'd nothing, but left them still at Mercy: and when he was told, that they were left only to the Mercy of their Good Friends the Parliament; he reply'd, he knew not why the Parliament shou'd not be at the Mercy of the Army, as well as the Army at that of the Parliament.

But that which gave the Army the first Distast, and render'd the leading Men among them irreconcilable, was their appointing the Speaker to execute the Office of General, in such manner as they shou'd direct, and that all Commissions shou'd be sign'd by him,

him, and receiv'd from his Hands: by which it was endeavour'd to bring the Military Sword under the Power of the Civil Authority. Their Dissatisfaction on this Occasion was so great, that the Chief Officers refus'd for a considerable time to renew their Commissions: and when after many Difficulties, they did receive them from the Hands of the Speaker; it was plain, that they actually despis'd that Authority, to which they paid a formal temporary Submission.

The Soldiers appeared very merry at their new General; and thought it necessary he should march with them upon the next Adventure: and the Officers thought they had deserv'd more than an Act of Indemnity from the Parliament, for restoring them to such a Sovereignty. And this Contempt of them extended farther than to the Army; since few People cou'd bring themselves to look with Reverence upon those, whom for above four Years together they had derided, and contemn'd.

The King's Friends receiv'd new Resolutions from this universal Temper in the Nation, so that they were forming Designs for his Majesty's Service in most Parts of the Kingdom. A Project was laid for the Surprisal of *Lynne* by the Lord *Willoughby of Parham*, and Sir *Horatio Townsend*, whom all the King's Friends in those Parts were ready to obey in whatsoever they undertook.

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The former of them had serv'd the Parliament, and was in great Credit with the Presbyterians, and so less liable to Suspicion; the latter had been under Age, till long after the War, and therefore subject to no Reproach or Jealousy, but of very worthy Principles, and a noble Fortune, which he engaged frankly to borrow Mony, and laid it out to provide Arms and Ammunition.

Another Design was the Surprisal of *Gloucester*, which was to be carry'd on by Major General *Masse*, who had formerly defended it too well against the late King, and made no doubt now of being able to recover it to his Majesty's Service. This City being very advantageously situated on the *Severn*, wou'd have had great Influence upon *Bristol*, and *Worcester*; both which Persons of the best Interest undertook to secure, as soon as *Gloucester* shou'd be possess'd: nor did there appear much difficulty in the Point, there being no Garisons in either of the Places.

Sir *George Booth*, a Person of one of the best Fortunes, and Interest in *Cheshire*, and for the Memory of his Grandfather of absolute Power with the Presbyterians, undertook to possess himself of the City, and Castle of *Chester*; where Sir *Thomas Middleton*, who was near fourscore Years of Age, and had likewise been in the Service of the Parliament, promis'd to join him out of *North-Wales*, and both of 'em to unite with the King's

King's Party in those Counties. In the West, the King's Friends were sure of *Exeter*, and hoped to possess themselves of *Plymouth*. Other Undertakings there were in the North, by Men very ready to venture all they had.

The King was then at *Brussels*, whither Mr. *Mordaunt* ventur'd in Disguise to give the King a clear Account how his Business stood, and what probability there was of Success. This Gentleman was a younger Brother to the Earl of *Peterborough*, and of great Vivacity of Parts, and Vigour of Mind. During the late War, in which he was too young to engage, he receiv'd his Education in *France*, and *Italy*; and being now of Age, he resolv'd to embrace all Opportunities to serve the King, and to dispose those, upon whom he had any Influence, to take the same Resolutions. Towards the latter end of *Cromwell's* Usurpation he was seized, and committed to the *Tower*, and tryed before the High Court of Justice, where he was acquitted only by one Voice, to the great Disappointment, and Mortification of the Usurper. His Zeal to the Cause, and the great Probability it carry'd with it of Success, made him, who had so lately his Head upon the Block, embark once more in it with as much Chearfulness as ever, so that he appear'd more active than any Man. Being arriv'd at *Brussels*, he assur'd the

the King, that if his Majesty wou'd assign them a Day, and promise to come to 'em after they were imbodyed, they wou'd not fail to appear at that Day. He added, that tho any Discovery shou'd be made, and any Persons imprison'd, yet the rest wou'd proceed as soon as the Day shou'd be appointed by the King. This Encouragement from Mr. *Mordaunt*, and the Intelligence his Majesty had before receiv'd from several of the principal Persons concern'd, made those about him, that were chiefly entrusted by him, look on it as a Design well laid, and most likely to succeed; whereupon the King resolv'd that he wou'd adventure his own Person, and be ready *incognito* at *Calais* upon such a Day of the Month.

The Nation was not yet ripe for the Blessing it so much wanted. The Model that was laid, had been contriv'd with the greatest Foresight, Prudence, and Deliberation; and the several Parties concern'd had engag'd themselves with the utmost Secrecy, and Resolution: but Providence had appointed other Agents, at present remote and unobserv'd, who were to be the sole Instruments in so Glorious a Revolution.

There happen'd at this time a vile Treachery, which had done the King's Affairs much harm, and had it been longer conceal'd wou'd have done much more. From the Death of *Oliver*, some of those, who were

in the secretest part of his Affairs, evidently discern'd, from the Divisions and Distractions that were crept into the State, that their new Protector wou'd never be able to bear the Burden ; and so thought how they might do such Service to the King, as might merit from him. Among these Mr. *Moreland*, who had a Post in the Secretaries Office, made Offers of his Service to his Majesty, and constantly advertised him of whatsoever was necessary for him to know ; and as an Instance of his Fidelity, and Usefulness, advertis'd the King of a Person, who was much trusted by his Majesty, and constantly betray'd him : That he had receiv'd a large Pension from *Cromwell*, and continually gave *Thurloe* Intelligence of all that he knew ; but that it was with so great Circumspection, that he was never seen in his Presence : That in his Contract, he had promis'd to make such Discoveries, as shou'd prevent any Dangers to the State ; but that he wou'd never endanger any Man's Life, or be produced in Evidence against him. The Gentleman accused was Sir *Richard Willis*, who had given many Testimonys of his Duty and Allegiance, and was thought to be superior to all Temptations of Infidelity. Of this the King had receiv'd so many Instances, that his Majesty cou'd not easily be perswaded to depart from his Confidence in him ; and therefore, tho in all other Particulars he confess'd to Mr. *Moreland*,
that

that he was fully satisfy'd in the Information he had receiv'd, and acknowledged his great Service, and made all those Promises that were necessary in such a Case, yet he frankly declared that nothing cou'd convince him of the Infidelity of that Gentleman, or make him withdraw his Trust from him, but the Evidence of his Hand-Writing, which was well known. The Messenger, who was sent with this Discovery, was no sooner return'd to *London*, but another was dispatch'd with a great Number of his Letters, which contain'd an Intelligence of such things as were known to very few but that Person himself; and this was such a Manifestation of the Truth, that there no longer remain'd any room to doubt of it.¹

It was a new Perplexity to the King, that he knew not by what means to communicate this Treachery to his Friends, lest the Discovery of it might likewise come to Light, which must ruin a Person of Merit, and disappoint his Majesty of that Service, which must be of great Moment. He thought it not reasonable that Mr. *Mordaunt* shou'd return into *England*, with the Confidence he found he had in this Man; and therefore his Majesty freely told him all he knew, but not the way by which he knew it: He charg'd him no farther to communicate with that Person, and to give his Friends such Caution, as might not give a greater Distur-

bance to his Affairs, by raising new Factions among them, or provoke him to do more Mischief; which it was in his Power to do. But before this there was another Expedient found out: for Mr. *Moreland*, out of his own Wisdom, and Knowledg of the ill Consequence of that Trust, caused Papers to be posted up in several Places, by which all Persons were warned not to look on Sir *Richard Willis* as faithful to the King, but as one who betrayed all that he was trusted with. This was a seasonable Admonition, and had in general some Effect; but the Remedy was apply'd too late to prevent all the ill Consequences of the Distemper.

It was towards the end of *June* when Mr. *Mordaunt* left *Brussels*, and carry'd with him a Resolution, that there shou'd be a general Rendezvous throughout *England*, of all who wou'd declare for the King, upon a Day named about the middle of *July*: and the King remov'd from *Brussels* to *Calais* accordingly. In the mean time the Parliament, who had receiv'd due notice of all the main Steps that had been taken in this Affair, were upon their Guard; so that in the beginning of the Night, when *Massey* according to Appointment was going to *Gloucester*, a Troop of the Army beset the House wherein he was, and took him Prisoner. A Party of Horse appear'd in *Derbyshire*, but were speedily dispers'd, or taken. The Earl of *Stamford* put
himself

himself at the Head of a Party, according to a Promise he had made to Sir *George Booth* : but finding them not considerable, he either surrender'd himself, or was seiz'd without Opposition. In *Staffordshire*, from whence a considerable Assistance was expected, their Designs were prevented by the seizing of the most considerable Persons, that were to have had the Direction of them. The Lord *Willoughby of Parham*, and Sir *Horatio Townsend*, and most of their Friends were apprehended before the day, and made Prisoners; so that of all the Enterprizes that had been laid, only one succeeded, which was that undertaken by Sir *George Booth*, and Sir *Tho. Middleton*, who seiz'd on *Chester*, where they had Strength enough with them to keep the Parts adjacent at their Devotion, and to suppress all there who had Inclinations to oppose them.

This Fire was kindled in a Place, which the Parliament least suspected, and was likely to spread far if it were not quickly quenched. They found now, they were necessitated to make use of the Army, in which they cou'd repose no manner of Confidence. There were many Officers, whom they had much rather trust than *Lambert* ; but there was none they thought cou'd do their Business so well, if they cou'd be assur'd of his Fidelity : so that tho they had resolv'd to send some Forces against Sir *George Booth*, yet they were doubt-
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ful to whom they shou'd commit that Province. Whilst this Matter was under their Consideration, some of the King's Party address'd themselves to *Lambert's* Wife, endeavouring to persuade her to sollicit her Husband to be the Instrument of the King's Return, with large Offers of whatsoever Terms he wou'd demand. She acquainted her Husband with the Propositions, and he discover'd the whole Intrigue to Sir *Henry Vane*, who represented it to the Parliament as a Proof of *Lambert's* Sincerity. Hereupon they made choice of him without any farther Hesitation, ordering him to march with such Troops as he lik'd, and that with the utmost Expedition, to suppress the Insurrection in *Cheshire*. In this Conjunction they sent an order to General *Monk* to send 'em two Regiments of Foot, and two of Horse, out of *Scotland*: but he excus'd himself under colour of the Enemies Strength, and the Inclination he had observ'd in that Kingdom to a Revolt. They likewise order'd two Regiments from *Ireland*; who having been lately new model'd by *Ludlow*, they thought 'em heartily devoted to the Republican Interest, and these were appointed to join with *Lambert*. He undertook the Charge very willingly, taking nothing with him that might hinder his March, which he resolv'd shou'd be very swift, to prevent the Increase of the Enemy, who were already about 4000 in Number. Sir

George

George Booth was Commander in Chief ; and the principal Persons, that engag'd under him, were the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Mr. *Lee* of *Limehouse*, and Captain *Morgan Lambert* made such incredible haste, that Sir *George Booth* found he was in less than a day's March before he thought he cou'd have been half the way. Sir *George* his Forces had possess'd themselves of the Town of *Warrington*, and plac'd a Party of about 300 Men to defend it, having lodg'd their main Body on the other side the River, and posted a good Number of Men for the defence of the Bridg. At this side the Forces on both sides met, and the Royalists begun the Action by sending out a Party to skirmish with an advanc'd Party from *Lambert*. But being repuls'd, and retreating beyond the Bridg, the Body of Horse soon gave ground ; so that after a short Encounter, the whole Army was routed, and totally broken, and the next day the Gates of *Chester* were open'd to *Lambert*. Sir *George Booth* after his Defeat put himself into a Woman's Habit, and with two Servants hoped to escape to *London*, riding behind one of them. But being discover'd on the Road, he was taken, and sent Prisoner to the Tower.

The Joy with which the Parliament receiv'd the News of this Defeat, is a plain Proof how much they were terrify'd at the Insurrection,

rection, which they said was not countenanc'd by the malignant Party only, but by the Presbyterians also, who join'd, as they complain'd, with the Cavaliers and Papists, to bring in the King, whom they call'd the common Enemy. Indeed the Disaffection to, and Contempt of their Authority, was so general, that had Sir *George Booth's* Discipline, and Conduct, been equal to his Zeal and Bravery, they had not so soon extricated themselves out of that Affair. If instead of marching out against the Enemy he had retir'd into the Town, he might have defended it against a much greater Army than *Lambert* had with him, and longer than he cou'd stay before it. This wou'd have cut out more Work for the Parliament, and have given a great Shock to their Authority. For notwithstanding the Disappointments that had been in other Places, the Fame of this Action rais'd the Spirits of all Men. They who were at liberty renew'd their former Designs; and they who cou'd not promise themselves Places of Refuge, prepar'd to march to *Chester*: but the News of the Defeat cool'd their Resolutions, and the Success of *Lambert's* Army put an end to all Endeavours of Force in *England*; and they had nothing now to do, but to make all Persons Prisoners, whose Looks they did not like, so that all the Prisons in *England* were fill'd: and the Parliament exalted with their Conquest, consulted what Persons they shou'd execute,

execute, and how they shou'd deal with the rest. Among other Expedients it was proposed, that all the Loyal Families shou'd be transported into *Barbadoes*, *Jamaica*, and other Plantations, lest they might produce in *England*, Children of their Fathers Affections, and transmit their Anti-Republican Principles to Posterity.

From the sad Consideration of these, and other unsuccessful Attempts, the Cavaliers, and those that sided with them, began to despair, and give their Cause for lost; till new Divisions gave 'em new hopes, and render'd the Victories that had been obtain'd over them, not only useless, but fatal to the Conquerors.

The King, who had remov'd to *Calais* at the time appointed, was at *Rochel*, where he was preparing Conveniencies for his Transportation, when he receiv'd the fatal News of *Sir George Booth's* Defeat, and of the total and entire Suppression of all kind of Opposition to the Power of the Parliament; which seem'd now to be in as absolute Possession of the Government of the three Nations as ever *Cromwell* had been.

Struck with this dismal Relation, the King and his Royal Highness seem'd to have nothing else to do, but to make what hast they cou'd out of *France*, where it was thought they cou'd not now be found with Safety. The Duke of *Tork* return'd speedily to *Brussels*, but the King resum'd a Resolution he had formerly taken, to make a Journey to the Borders of *Spain*, where the two Chief Ministers of the two Crowns

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were

were met at that time, in order to put an end to the War between the two Nations, by a Treaty, and Marriage; and where his Majesty hoped to obtain more powerful Supplies, if he took upon him to solicit them in Person, especially if a Peace was produced by that Treaty: in which Case both Kings, who had made the War that was between them, the only Ground and Reason to the contrary, had no pretence to deny him that Assistance he had reason to expect from their many Professions in that behalf.

These Considerations, together with the Disappointments in *England*, had made his Majesty take up a Resolution of being present *incognito* at that Treaty, to which he had likewise receiv'd encouragement from *Don Lewis de Haro* the *Spanish* Favourite, who had promis'd, that after the great Difficulties of the Treaty were over, he wou'd do all he cou'd to induce Cardinal *Mazarine* to concur in what might be of Convenience and Service to his Majesty.

Tho it was expected that some Points, which were to be settled at this Treaty, wou'd have drawn it out to a sufficient length, yet Cardinal *Mazarine* had the Address to surmount all those Difficulties; it having been resolv'd on the *French* side to observe no punctuality in the Performance of the Promises they had made to their Partizans and Profelytes at the beginning of the War, provided they found such an Observance wou'd obstruct the Peace, the Terms of which were so advantageous on their side, leaving 'em in possession of all the Places they had

had taken as well in *Luxembourg*, as *Flanders*, and the other Provinces; by which they dismember'd all the *Spanish* Dominions in those Parts, and kept themselves nearer Neighbours to the *Hollanders*, and in effect Masters of the Peace of Christendom.

The King arriv'd not at *Fontarabia*, the place of Treaty, till it was absolutely ended. He was receiv'd by *Don Lewis*, according to the *Spanish* Mode and Generosity, and treated with the same Respect and Reverence, that cou'd be shew'd to his Catholick Majesty himself, if he had been in that Place. But this was all he got by his Journey thither; for *Don Lewis* confess'd, that no Provision had been made in the Treaty, that the two Crowns shou'd jointly assist his Majesty, but that he believ'd the Cardinal wou'd be ready to perform all good Offices towards him; and that for his own particular, his Majesty shou'd receive good Testimony of the profound Veneration he had for him.

The King, by the Advice of *Don Lewis*, sent the Marquis of *Ormond* to visit the Cardinal, who was still within Distance, and to let him know, that his Majesty had a desire to come to him, that he might have some Conference with him, and receive his Counsel and Advice. But the Cardinal wou'd by no means admit it, fearing, as he said, it might administer unseasonable Jealousies to the Parliament, without any manner of Benefit to the King. He made many large Professions of his Affection to the King, and declar'd that it shou'd not

be long before he gave his Majesty some Evidence of his Kindness and Respect.

After his Majesty had staid as long as he thought convenient at *Fontarabia*, he return'd to *Brussels*, where he arriv'd towards the end of *December*, and found his two Brothers the Dukes of *Tork* and *Gloucester*, impatiently expecting him. Here his Majesty resided the remaining part of the Winter with a most melancholy prospect of his Affairs, which most of those, who were near his Person, consider'd as in a desperate Condition: so that all Men began to cast about for themselves, till they were awaken'd, and confounded by such a prodigious Act of Providence, as God hath scarce vouchsafed to any Nation, since he led his own chosen People through the *Red-Sea*.

The Parliament had not time to value themselves long upon the Success of *Lambert's* Forces, before they found that they were to pay dear for the Victory; for soon after the Account of *Sir George Booth's* Defeat, *Fleetwood* mov'd the House that they wou'd, in consideration of his late Services, appoint Colonel *Lambert* to be Major General of their Army. This was done upon certain Assurances, that *Haslerig*, and other Members wou'd endeavour to obstruct it; whereby they doubted not but *Lambert* wou'd be so far disoblig'd, as to be ready to join with them in whatever they shou'd design. *Haslerig*, and the rest, in a great measure answer'd their Expectations, and prevail'd with the House to declare, that they wou'd
not

not create any more General Officers, than those that were so already ; which Method they took, that they might not seem to put a Negative on *Lambert* in particular. *Fleetwood* having attain'd his End in the first Motion, was encourag'd to move again, That seeing the House had not thought fit to do as he had propos'd, they wou'd be pleas'd to present 1000 *l.* to *Lambert* as a Mark of their Favour. This they readily comply'd withal, and by an extraordinary Messenger sent *Lambert* 1000 *l.* to buy him a Jewel ; but he employ'd it better, by bestowing it among the Officers, who might well deserve it of him. The Parliament's refusal to gratify him with the Title beforemention'd was aggravated to that degree, that he became their most implacable Enemy, and immediately engaged in such Counsels, as had an unavoidable Tendency to their Destruction. His late Bounty was quickly known to the House, who concluded that he intended to make a Party in the Army, that shou'd more depend upon Him, than Them. They therefore resolved to secure him from doing further harm, as soon as he shou'd be come to the Town.

But *Lambert*, instead of making hast to them, found some delays in his March (as if all were not safe) to seize upon the Persons of Delinquents. In the mean time the Officers of *Wallingford-House*, who well knew the Disposition *Lambert* was in, were not idle. Having framed a Petition, they privately sent it down to *Derby*, there to be sign'd, and then to be return'd to
London,

London, as if it had been drawn at *Derby*, in order to be presented by *Fleetwood* to the Parliament, in case he approv'd of it, and had it sign'd at his Recommendation by the Officers about *London*. It was intituled, *The humble Petition, and Proposal, of the Army under the Command of the Lord Lambert, in the late Northern Expedition*. In it they desir'd that they might be govern'd, as all Armies used to be, by a General who might be amongst them, and other Officers, according to their Qualities subordinate to him. They made a large Recapitulation of the many Services they had done, which they thought were now forgotten; and that they had lately preserv'd them from an Enemy, who, if they had been suffer'd to grow, wou'd in a short time have over-run the Kingdom, and engag'd the Nation in a new bloody War. They aspersed the Parliament for not punishing those, who had been engag'd in it, and for not rewarding the Officers who had defeated the Enemy. They concluded with a desire, that they wou'd commit the Army to *Fleetwood*, as General and Commander in Chief, without any Limitation of Time; and that they wou'd appoint *Lambert* to be Major General, *Desborough* Lieutenant General of the Horse, and *Monk* Major General of the Foot.

This Paper, as had been before concerted, was deliver'd to *Fleetwood*; who being one Morning at a Committee in the Speaker's Chamber, before the House was sat, shew'd it to *Haf-lerig*, acquainting him how it came to his Hands,

Hands, pretending his dislike of it, and a Resolution to put a stop to it. *Haslerig* said not much to him concerning it, either suspecting him to be in the Plot, or thinking, that if speedy Care were not taken it wou'd be past all Remedy: and therefore procured the Speaker immediately to take the Chair, and to send for the Members from the Committee into the House. This being done, he obtain'd an Order for shutting the Door, and bringing the Keys to the Table, he alledg'd that the Business he had to impart requir'd that Care. Then he inform'd 'em of a Rebellion growing in the Army, which if not suppress'd wou'd undo all they had done. The House immediately took the Alarm, and after a long Debate, wherein it was moved that *Lambert* shou'd be accused of High Treason, and committed to the *Tower*, that they might discountenance and exclude any Address of that kind; they passed a Vote, that *the having more General Officers, was a thing needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the Commonwealth.*

This put the whole Army into that Ferment, that *Lambert*, and the rest desired; whereupon a Council of Officers was summon'd to meet at *Wallingsford-House*: and tho it was pretended to be only in order to declare their Acquiescence in the Resolution of the Parliament, yet before they parted, they prepared another Petition, and Representation to be presented to the Parliament, wherein they gave them many good words, and assured them of their Fidelity towards them; but yet that they wou'd so far
take

take care for their own Preservation, that they wou'd not be at the Mercy of their Enemies; and implied, that they having no way forfeited their Rights of Freemen, had likewise Privileges which they wou'd not quit: and then seconded the Proposals of the *Northern* Brigadé, with more warmth, and desired that no Officer might be displaced, unless by a Court-Martial; that the Act of Indemnity might be enlarged; and that whatever Persons shou'd for the future groundlessly inform the Parliament against them, may be brought to Examination, Justice, and condign Punishment.

The Parliament, who began to be doubtful of their own Authority, were willing to leave no means unattempted, that might give Satisfaction to the Army; wherefore taking hold of a Clause in the Address, wherein they had promised Obedience, gave them Thanks for their Affection expressed therein, and promis'd to take the Particulars of the Petition into their speedy Consideration. In the mean time a Letter was communicated to the House, subscribed by *Lambert, Desborow*, and some others, and intended to encourage Subscriptions to the Petition lately read in the House. By this the Parliament found that there was no compounding the Dispute amicably, but that one side must be suppressed. They resolv'd therefore to take away all hopes of Subsistence from the Army, if they shou'd be inclin'd to make any Alteration in the Government by Force. In order thereunto they declared;

- " That

“ That it shou’d be Treason in any Person what-soever to raise, levy, and collect Mony without consent of Parliament.” At the same time they made void all Acts for Custom, and Excise; by which nothing was left to maintain the Army, except they wou’d prey upon the People, which they knew cou’d not hold long. Next they cashier’d *Lambert*, and other principal Officers of the Army, who had subscribed the Letter before mentioned, and confer’d their Commands on others in whom they cou’d confide. At the same time they voted the Commission of *Fleetwood*, who had been their Lieutenant-General, to be void, and committed the whole Government of the Army into the Hands of seven Commissioners, who were *Fleetwood* (who had a great Interest in the Army, for which reason he was not totally to be disobligh’d) *Ludlow* (who commanded the Army in Ireland) *Monk* (General in Scotland) *Hastlerig*, *Walton*, *Morley*, and *Overton*.

The Army was too far engag’d to retire. The Nine cashier’d Officers were resolv’d not to part with their Commands, nor wou’d the Soldiers submit to their new Officers; and both Officers and Soldiers agreed to meet at *Westminster* the next Morning, and determine whether it wou’d fall to their Lot, or the Parliament’s, to be disbanded.

The Parliament, to encounter this Design, order’d some Regiments, whose Fidelity they were confident of, to be ready at *Westminster*

the next Morning to defend them from Force ; accordingly two Regiments of Foot, and four Troops of Horse appear'd in the *Palace-yard* well arm'd, and resolv'd to oppose all Forces that shou'd attempt the Parliament : but *Lambert* placed himself with some Troops in *King-street*, and before *Whitehall*, expecting when the Speaker wou'd come to the House, who at his accustom'd hour came in his usual State, guarded with his Troop of Horse. *Lambert* rode up to him, and told him there was nothing to be done at *Westminster*, and therefore advis'd him to return back again to his House ; which he refusing to do, endeavour'd to proceed, and calling to his Guard to make way, he apply'd himself to the Soldiers, telling them he was their General, and expected their Obedience : but *Lambert* rode to the Captain, and pulled him off his Horse, and bid Major *Creed*, who had formerly commanded that Troop, mount into his Saddle ; which he presently did. Then he took away the Mace, and bid the Major conduct Mr. *Lenthall* to his House, which was done without any Opposition from the Troop, who did just as their new Captain directed them.

When the Army had thus secured themselves from any more Votes, they appointed a select Number of Persons, consisting for the most part of themselves and their Creatures, to have the Administration of Civil Affairs, calling them a *Committee of Safety*. These Persons were empower'd to revive old Orders, or make new ones

ones for the raising of Mony, and to consider what Form of Government was fit to be enacted, to which the Nation was to submit. They likewise declared all the Acts, or pretended Acts made in Parliament on the 10th, 11th or 12th of *October* before their Interruption, to be void and null, to all Intents and Purposes, as if they had never been.

Thus having chosen each other, they agreed, that they shou'd exercise the whole Legislative Power of the Nation; and proclaiming themselves *the Committee of Safety for the Kingdom*, they requir'd all People to pay them Obedience. And knowing that it was of great Importance to secure the Forces in *Ireland*, and *Scotland*; Colonel *Barrow*, and Colonel *Cobbet* were dispatch'd to those Kingdoms on that Errand.

The Forces in *Ireland* were easily perswaded by *Barrow* to acquiesce, but *Cobbet* had not the like Success in *Scotland*. Before the Parliament was routed they discern'd what *Lambert's* Intrigues wou'd shortly produce, and had therefore by Letters advis'd General *Monk* to be upon his Guard, and take care of his Army, lest it shou'd be corrupted against him, which they knew was endeavouring; and *Hasslerig*, who had some Friendship with him, advis'd him particularly to continue firm to the Parliament. There had for a long time been an Emulation between *Monk*, and *Lambert*; for which reason *Hasslerig* thought his Letter wou'd have a greater weight with him.

About the end of *October*, the Committee of Safety receiv'd Letters from General *Monk* that gave them real trouble; for they were censur'd in them, and reproach'd with what they had done, in using such Force and Violence to the Parliament. Shortly after they heard the General's Forces had possess'd themselves of *Berwick*. But that which troubled them most was, that assoon as *Cobbet* came into *Scotland*, he was committed close Prisoner to *Edinburg* Castle, and that *Monk* used extraordinary Diligence to purge his Army, by turning out all the Fanaticks, and other Persons, who were suspected to have any Inclinations to *Lambert*, or his Party. This was an Alarm worthy of their Fears, and Evidence enough that they were never to expect *Monk* wou'd adhere to them. They therefore order'd a Body of their Troops to be sent against him, with Directions if possible to possess themselves of *Newcastle*, a Place of great Importance to the City of *London*, and to fight him if an Opportunity shou'd be offer'd. But whilst the Preparations were making for the march of their Army, the Committee of Safety resolv'd to try once more if they cou'd induce *Monk* to a Conjunction with them; and to that purpose they employ'd two such Persons, as they thought might be grateful to him, of whom one was *Clarges* his Wife's Brother. These were follow'd by some Officers of the Army, with offers of any thing he cou'd desire of Advantage to himself, or any of his Friends. He receiv'd these Men with all imaginable Civility, declaring

declaring that he was ready to unite himself, and his Army with that of *England*, provided there might be a lawful Power, to which they might all be subject. He complain'd of the Force, that had been used upon the Parliament, and desired that it might be restored to its Freedom, Rights and Privileges. He added, That he so much desired Peace and Union, that he wou'd appoint three Officers of his Army to go to *London*, and treat with *the Committee of Safety* of all Particulars necessary thereunto. This Behaviour in the General was very acceptable to the Committee of Safety, who imagin'd that the Fame of their Army's readiness to march had frightened him into a Condescension; so that as they willingly embraced the Overture of a Treaty, they likewise directed *Lambert*, whom they had intrusted with the Command of those Forces, to hasten his March, and make no stay till he shou'd come to *Newcastle*. *Lambert* engaged in the Service with great Alacrity; and having dispatch'd his Orders to the Soldiers, that were quarter'd in the *North*, to draw together, and seize on *Newcastle*, he set out Post himself for that place. In the mean time the Members of Parliament having resolv'd to open a way if possible to their return to the House, prevail'd with Colonel *Whetham*, at that time Governor of *Portsmouth*, to admit *Haslerig*, *Walton*, and *Morly* with some Forces into that important Place: who thereupon immediately declared for the Parliament, and issu'd out Orders for more Forces to come to their Assistance.

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It is said that the Commissioners who had been appointed by *Monk* to treat with those of the Army, had no small part in promoting this Diversion of their Forces. At the same time they endeavour'd to lay asleep the *Wallingford-House* Party, and to make them believe, that they designed nothing more, than a good Understanding with them. By this Artifice they caused them to neglect those means, which they had in their hands to reduce *Monk*, and his Party, the Number of whose Troops fell very short of those under their Command. At the same time his solemn Protestations of an Adherence to the Parliament, and their Cause, against a *King, single Person, or House of Peers*, made all those, who were offended at the Proceedings of the Army, to wish well to his Undertaking.

Notwithstanding this, the Treaty went on between him, and the Army, and seem'd to draw near to a Conclusion: it being agreed, That “ he shou'd have one part of a Sum of
 “ Money, that had been appointed to pay his
 “ Forces: That he shou'd be one of their Com-
 “ mittee for the Nomination of Officers to such
 “ Places, as shou'd be vacant in the Army :
 “ That a Representative of the People shou'd
 “ be called with all convenient Speed; and to
 “ that end Commissioners shou'd be appointed
 “ by the Military Power of the three Nations,
 “ to consider, and agree upon the Qualifications
 “ of such, as might be elected, and sit as
 “ Members.” A general Council of Officers
 was

was also appointed to meet at *Whitehall* on a certain day, and to consist of two Persons out of each Regiment in the three Nations, to be chosen by the Officers of the several Regiments. It was desired also, that the Fleet wou'd send their Deputies to this Assembly, who were to prepare matters for the Consideration of the ensuing Representative. Some Persons having moved at this Meeting, that the Commissioners from General *Monk* might be obliged to produce their Powers, that it might appear whether he wou'd stand oblig'd to what shou'd be agreed, they cou'd not be perswaded to shew any Orders from him to that purpose : and yet the Officers were contented to treat with them, tho they had never seen any Commission that they had ; and tho it began to be suspected, that the Design of those Commissioners was only to prolong the Treaty, that the Forces of the Army might be kept from attacking *Monk*. They well knew, that if they cou'd spin out the time in Treaty till the Expiration of the Taxes which had been laid by the Parliament, which wou'd happen in the Month of *January* next ensuing, the Army wou'd then be driven to great straits for want of Mony, wherewith General *Monk's* Forces had been supply'd by the *Scots*. For before he left *Scotland*, he had call'd together an Assembly somewhat resembling a Convention of the States of that Kingdom, from whom he obtain'd the Arrears of a twelvemonth's Tax over the Nation : and after he had left such Forces, as he thought convenient for the Security of
that

that Kingdom, under the Command of Major General *Morgan*, he march'd with the rest to *Berwick*, where a good part of his Horse, and Foot expected him.

It having been agreed, as was before observ'd, that a General Council of Officers consisting of two Persons to be chosen out of each Regiment in the three Nations, shou'd meet at a time appointed at *Whitehall*, Warrants were signed, and issued out for their Election, to the Armies in *England*, and *Ireland*: and *Monk's* Commissioners departed for *Scotland*, to procure all things, as they said, to be done there according to their Agreement. But the General kept himself upon the Reserve; and instead of making good what his Commissioners had promis'd, he desired time to consider of the Articles of the Treaty, and requir'd an Explanation of several particulars therein contained, so that much time was spent in Messages between him, and *Lambert*. He committed Colonel *Wilks*, one of his Commissioners, for having consented to something prejudicial to him, and expressly contrary to his Instructions. However he desired to gain farther time, and agreed to another Treaty to be held at *Newcastle*; which tho he knew it wou'd be govern'd by *Lambert*, was like not to be without some benefit to himself, because it wou'd keep up the Opinion in the *Committee of Safety*, that he was still inclined to an Accommodation.

When the General Council of Officers met at *Whitehall*, great Endeavours were used by
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Rich, Ludlow, and some others of the Commonwealth Party, to procure the Restitution of the Rump-Parliament ; instead of which it was propos'd that a new one shou'd be called, which was carry'd by a great Majority : but some other Points relating to it, and that were to be settled previously, engaged them in long Debates, which were manag'd with much Heat, and Contention.

Whilst the Army was thus employ'd, the Parliament Party were not wanting to promote their Interest, and to that end form'd a Design to get the *Tower* into their Hands : and their attempt might have succeeded, had it not been discover'd by some accident to *Sir Thomas Allen* the Lord Mayor, who inform'd the Committee of Safety of it the Night before it was to be put in Execution.

Lambert had not been long at *Newcastle*, at which place he arriv'd towards the end of *November*, before he found his Confidence had carry'd him too far, and that he was at too great a distance to give that Relief to his Committee of Safety, which it was like to stand in need of. *Hastlerig*, and *Morly* were now consider'd, as the Persons invest'd with the Authority of Parliament ; and the Officer who was sent by the Committee of Safety to restrain them in *Portsmouth*, or rather restrain Persons from resorting to them, found himself deserted by more than half his Soldiers ; who declared, that they wou'd serve the Parliament, and so went into *Portsmouth* ; and another Officer who was sent with a stron-

ger Party to second them, carry'd them also to the same Place: so that they were now grown too numerous to be contain'd within that Garrison, but were quarter'd to be in readiness to march whither their Generals *Hastlerig* and *Morly* wou'd conduct them. At the same time they dispatch'd Letters to General *Monk* to warrant his Undertaking, and invited the Fleet to join with them.

The City took new Courage from hence, and the Apprentices met in great Numbers, declaring for a free Parliament; the very mention of which frightened both the Army, and Commonwealthsmen, who well knew what the Consequence of that wou'd be in the present Conjunction of Affairs. Hereupon a Regiment of Foot was sent to suppress them, under the Command of Colonel *Hewson*, a bold Fellow, who had been an ill Shoemaker, and afterwards Clerk to a Brewer of small Beer, who was left by *Lambert* to guard the Committee of Safety. When *Hewson* came into the City, the Apprentices affronted him to his face, fired upon his Men from the Windows, and threw Stones on them from the Tops of the Houses; whereupon Orders were given to the Soldiers to fire on them likewise, by which means some of the Apprentices were killed: but the loss of that Blood served only to inflame the City still the more against the Army, so that the Army Party found themselves oblig'd to send considerable Guards almost every day to keep them in order, one of which being commanded by *Desborow*, carry'd

ry'd themselves so roughly towards divers eminent Citizens, that they greatly disgusted the whole City. The Aldermen, and Common-Council agreed upon a Paper to be presented to the *Committee of Safety*, wherein they complain'd of the killing of their Men, and of the Guards that were kept in the City, desiring they might be withdrawn, and the Guard of the City left to the Civil Magistrate, who cou'd not otherwise undertake to secure the Peace; and that a free Parliament might be forthwith called. This Paper being read, the Committee resolved, that if the Aldermen, and Common-Council wou'd declare against the Family of the *Stuarts*, and promise to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, they wou'd withdraw their Soldiers, and leave the City to be guarded by it self. They acquainted them also, that they had already resolv'd to call a Parliament; and for the further satisfaction of the Aldermen, and Common-Council, they appointed six of their own Number, to confer with them touching the Reasons of those Resolutions, and of the late Proceedings of the Army in the City.

So careful was the *Committee of Safety* to keep the City, if possible, in good humour: but their designs were too visible, and their Authority become precarious, and contemptible; for in this juncture News was brought, that the Fleet under the Command of Vice-Admiral *Lawson* was come into the River, and had declared for the Parliament. This Revolt of the

Fleet broke the Heart of *the Committee*, especially when they heard, that *Haslerig*, and *Morly* were marching with their Troops to *London*. The News of this March raised new Thoughts in those Soldiers, who had been left by *Lambert* to execute such Orders, as they shou'd receive from *the Committee of Safety*. The Officers of these Regiments had been cashier'd by *the Committee of Safety*, for adhering to the Parliament; and their Commands having been given to other Men, who had been discountenanced by the Parliament, the Regiments for a time appear'd as much confirmed in the Interest of the Army, as cou'd be desired. But these cashier'd Officers, upon the News of the advance of *Haslerig* and *Morly*, resolv'd to confer with their old Soldiers, and try whether they had as much Credit with them as their new Officers, and found so much Encouragement, that at a time appointed they put themselves at the Heads of their Regiments, and marched with them into the Field: whence after a short Conference together they all marched to *Chancery-Lane* to the House of the Speaker; and professed their Resolution to live and die with the Parliament, and never more to swerve from their Fidelity to it.

Lambert upon the first News of the froward Humour in the City, had sent back *Desborough's* Regiment; who hearing at *St. Albans* what their Fellows had done at *Westminster*, declar'd likewise for the Parliament. When *Fleetwood* found himself thus deserted by the greater Part of

of the Army, he sent the Keys of the Parliament-House to the Speaker, with notice that the Guards were withdrawn, and that the Members of Parliament might attend the Discharge of their Duty. Hereupon the Speaker having recover'd his Spirit, went into the City, where he confer'd with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and declar'd that the Parliament would meet within very few days. Then he went to the Tower, and remov'd Colonel *Miller* the Lieutenant, who had been confirm'd there by the *Committee of Safety*, and put Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*, and other Members of Parliament, into the Government and Command of that Place. Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, and the rest of the Officers being come from *Portsmouth*, were receiv'd in the City with so much seeming Joy, and loud Acclamations, that Sir *Arthur* was observ'd in particular to be so elevated, that for some time after he could scarce discern his Friends from his Enemies, declaring that God and Man had now own'd both him and his Cause, tho this Height of his was but of a short Duration.

All things being in good Order, the Speaker and the Members met again at *Westminster* on the 26th of *December*, and assum'd the Government of the three Kingdoms, out of which they had been twice before cast with so much Reproach and Infamy. Assoon as they came together, they appointed Commissioners to direct the Quarters, into which the Army should be put, and made an Order, that all the Troops under the Command of *Lambert*, without sending

ing any Directions to him, should repair to those Quarters, to which they were assign'd.

By this time *Lambert's* Affairs began to be in a very declining Condition. As *Monk* drew nearer to him, his Soldiers deserted in great Numbers; and this last Order of the Parliament so entirely stript him of his Army, that there remain'd not with him above 100 Horse; all the rest return'd with great Quietness and Resignation to their Quarters, and *Lambert* himself was shortly after committed to the Tower, by the Authority of those whom he had not long before devested of their Power. The rest of the Officers of the Army, who had been formerly cashier'd by the Parliament, and had resum'd their Commands in order to break it, were again dismiss'd from their Charges, and committed to their own Houses. This wise Parliament did not stop here, but were so zealous to vindicate the least Appearance of any Breach that might be suppos'd to be made upon their Privileges, that upon consideration of Sir *Harry Vane's* Compliance with the Army during the late Interruption they discharg'd him from being a Member, and commanded him to retire from *London*: divers other Members likewise who had concur'd with the Committee of Safety, were confin'd to their Houses. This was justly thought a very imprudent Step by several, who conceiv'd, that the Removal of such eminent Pillars, as some of them were in the House, would put the whole Fabrick in apparent danger of Ruin. However they seem'd now pos-
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fest of a more absolute Authority than they had before, and to be without any danger of Opposition or Contradiction.

This surprizing Resurrection of the Parliament, seem'd now to pull all the Cavaliers Hopes up by the roots. The other Changes and Fluctuations dispos'd Men to believe, that the Government might at last rest upon the old Foundation. Men expected, that a sharp Engagement between *Lambert* and *Monk* might make their Parts of the Army for ever after irreconcilable, and that all Parties would at last be oblig'd to consent to a new Parliament; in the Election whereof there was a reasonable Belief, that the general Temper of the People would chuse sober and wise Men, who would rather bind up the Wounds, which had been already made, than endeavour to widen them. Instead of which, this sudden Return of the Rump, contrary to the Expectations of all, and Desires of most, that had been so often exploded, so often dead and bury'd, and was the Image of Power the most formidable to the King and his Party, look'd like an Act of Providence to establish their monstrous Murders and Usurpations.

The only hope the King had left, proceeded from the Difference and Jealousy he knew the Parliament must have of *Monk*, tho they were oblig'd to make use of him at present, and the secret Correspondence his Majesty had with some principal Officers in his Army. But it never appear'd that those Officers ever gave the
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General the least Cause to imagine they maintain'd such a Correspondence, or were any ways dispos'd to the King's Service; and if they had, it is likely they had paid dearly for it. And it was the King's great Happiness, that the General never own'd his purpose to serve his Majesty, till it fell to be in his power, and indeed was the best thing in his power to do. If he had declar'd his Resolution sooner, he had been destroy'd himself: the whole Machine being so infinitely above his Strength, that it could be only mov'd by a Divine Hand; and it is Glory enough to his Memory, that he was God's Instrument in bringing those mighty things to pass; which undoubtedly no one Man living had of himself, either Wisdom enough to foresee, or Understanding to contrive, or Courage to attempt and execute.

The General having settled every thing to his Satisfaction in the North, began his March for *London*, and enter'd *Newcastle* on the 6th of *January*, and dispatch'd from thence *Gumble* his Chaplain with Letters to the Parliament, with many Protestations of his Duty and Fidelity; notwithstanding which, when they found themselves so much at ease, and so much without Apprehensions of farther Insecurity, they heartily wish'd him again in his old Quarters in *Scotland*. But as he continu'd his March towards *London* without expecting their Orders, so they knew not how to command him to return, whom they had sent for to assist them, without seeing him, and give him thanks, and Rewards for

for his Service. In his March from *Newcastle* to *Tork* he was met by Colonel *Waters* the Sheriff, and saluted by all the People with great Acclamations of Joy. When he came to *Tork*, he found that City in the Possession of the Lord *Fairfax*, who receiv'd him with open Arms; and the principal Persons of all Countries through which he pass'd flock'd to him in a Body with Addresses for restoring the seclused Members; or that a free and full Parliament might be call'd by the Votes of the People; to which all Subjects had a Right by their Birth. He receiv'd all with much Civility, and few Words, declaring that nothing should shake his Fidelity to the present Parliament; yet privately assuring those, who he thought it necessary should hope well, that he would procure a free Parliament, so that every body promis'd himself that which he most wish'd.

In his March he remov'd many Officers from their Commands, placing others in their Rooms, who he thought would be more serviceable to him; making no distinction between those who had continu'd firm to the Parliament, and such as had declar'd against them. Tho his Professions of Fidelity to the Parliament, and referring all Determinations to their Wisdom, had a good Aspect towards them, yet his manner of marching, his receiving so many Addresses from the People, and his civil Treatment of Malignants, startled them much: whereupon Colonel *Martin* in the Parliament House resembled him to one, that being sent for to make a Sute of Clothes, brought

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with him a Budget full of Carpenters Tools ; and being told, that such things were not at all fit for the Work he was desir'd to do, he answer'd it matters not, I will do your Work well enough I warrant you.

Notwithstanding all this, none were more forward to publish their Resolutions of adhering to a Commonwealth Government than himself ; and nothing gave the Parliament greater Satisfaction, than his Letter to some of his own Countrymen, who had address'd him for a Restoration of the seclused Members, wherein he told 'em that he could not do it, because it was not only contrary to his own frequent Declarations, but directly opposite to the Interest of a Commonwealth, as well as that of the Army ; that it would be a total Reversing of all that had been done for the last 12 Years in *England, Scotland and Ireland*, and would tend to the charging the Nation with all the Blood that had been shed during that time. He said, it would unsettle the Possession of Deans, Chapters, Delinquents, Crown, and Rebels Lands ; and in fine, if Monarchy should be suffer'd to return after so long a Fruition of a Commonwealth, the Nation would be driven to a worse Condition than ever, and be put past all hopes of appearing to defend their Liberty any more. He advis'd them therefore to acquiesce in the Authority of the present Parliament, who, he assured them, were most ready to hearken to all reasonable Propositions touching the Good and happy Settlement of the Nation. And that this Declaration,

tion, or Answer, might be taken notice of by all Men, he caus'd it to be printed and publish'd.

The Parliament, to encourage him in the good Resolution he had profess'd to have taken, as well as to give some Check to that Licence of Addressees, and Resort of Malignants, sent two of their Members of most Credit with them, *Scot* and *Robinson*, as their Commissioners to him. *Scot* had kept a long Correspondence with him, and after the last Interruption had publish'd some of his Letters, wherein the General declar'd his Resolution to live and die with the Parliament, without a King, single Person, or House of Lords. These two Persons were in appearance much courted by *Monk*, who pretended to be wholly directed by their Advice. And when the Commissioners, who had been sent by the City to perform their Compliments, and confirm him in his Inclinations to a free Parliament, apply'd themselves to him in that behalf, he refer'd them to the Judgment of the House, to whom he said he was resolv'd entirely to submit.

In the mean time his Party in the House gain'd Ground; and their getting Sir *H. Vane*, and some others remov'd, as is before mention'd, contributed very much to their Designs. Sir *Arthur Haslerig* having parted with those Men, who had been us'd to countenance and support him when there was Occasion, lost his Interest; so that all he could say in the House, or elsewhere, pass'd for nothing. On the 2d of *January* an Act was pass'd, constituting 31 of their Members

to be a Council of State. This Act met with many violent Struggles in its Birth, and was not like to be of any long Duration. Among the several Instructions provided for the Members of this Council, they were oblig'd to take an Oath of Abjuration of the King, his Family and Government, before they could be qualify'd to act or sit in the Council. As this Oath was conceiv'd in stricter Terms than any that had been before impos'd, it was disliked by many. Notwithstanding which the Commonwealth Party were for imposing it not only upon the Council of State, but endeavour'd to have it ordain'd, that every Member in the House also should be oblig'd to take it. This was strongly oppos'd by Colonel *Fielder*, *Ingoldsby*, and some others, of whom *Fielder* and *Ingoldsby* were the only Persons suspected to be Favourites of the King's Party; the rest being such, of whom they had then no manner of Jealousy. But this Division prov'd of singular use to those who were in the General's Interest, as teaching 'em to distinguish aright; and indeed most or all of those, who oppos'd the Oath, appear'd afterwards much inclin'd to a Conjunction with the secluded Members, and well dispos'd to Monarchy.

At *Nottingham* he was met by his Brother *Clarges*, who acquainted him with the Divisions at *London*, and the Inclinations of the City. He likewise inform'd him of the Strength of the Forces there, and their several Inclinations and Engagements. They had at that time with them four Regiments of Horse, and eight of Foot,
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of which he thought all but those of *Morley* and *Fagg* would do all they could to oppose his Designs, as soon as he should more openly declare himself. *Morley* had been early in his Inclinations to the King's Service, which he was underhand promoting, even then when he appear'd most zealous for the Parliament, and had by degrees infus'd the same Principles into his Men, who were firm to him. *Fagg's* was a new Regiment rais'd about *Portsmouth* in his behalf, consisting of Men generally of the same Inclinations with their Colonel, who had likewise in his Wishes devoted himself to his Majesty's Service. *Clarges* told the General, that unless he could get all those Regiments, *Morley's* and *Fagg's* excepted, to be remov'd out of *London*, and march his own Men thither, he would never be able to perform what he had in view for the Good of his Country; since it had been often experienc'd, that whatever was done at *London*, where they had 9 or 10000 Men to justify their Actions, was submitted to by the rest of the Army.

For this Reason the General writ a Letter to the Parliament, wherein he told 'em he had some Apprehension, that those Regiments and Troops of the Army, who had formerly deserted them, tho' for the present they were return'd to their Obedience, would not live peaceably with his Men, and therefore desir'd that all the Soldiers (except the Regiments of *Morley* and *Fagg*) who were then quarter'd in the *Strand*, *Westminster*, or other Suburbs of the City, might be presently remov'd,

remov'd, and sent to more distant Quarters, that there might be room for his Army. It was agreed, that this Letter should not be sent till they were got to *St. Albans*, and that *Clarges* should go before to prepare a Party in the House, that the Contents of it might find a more ready Concurrence. On *Monday* the 30th of *January* the Letter was deliver'd, and caus'd a long and violent Debate in the House. The Message was unexpected, and exceedingly perplex'd them, and made them see their Fate would still be under the Force and Awe of an Army. *Haslerig*, and some others, that had been the deepest engag'd in the late Troubles, oppos'd the Motion with great Warmth, but the Majority was for it; whereupon Orders were sent for the Soldiers to depart to such Quarters as had been assign'd them by the General, in a List sent with his Letter to the Parliament. This Message for their March was receiv'd so disdainfully, that the Soldiers mutiny'd, and refus'd to march till their Arrears were paid. This Mutiny began at *Somerſet-Houſe*, where one whole Regiment was quarter'd, who were join'd by divers Partys of the rest. Hereupon the Council of State, that they might also cut the Grass from under their own Feet, sent Orders to the General to hasten his March, and with all Diligence come to their Relief. These Malecontents were very numerous, amounting to more than 2000 Foot; and about the same Number of Horse were ready to join with them. But their Officers, who would have been glad to inflame them upon such

an Occasion, were under Restraint or absent. And so at last all was compos'd, and both Officers and Soldiers remov'd to their new Quarters, where they were promis'd that their Arrears should be paid, with Animosity enough against those who were to succeed them in their old ones.

The next day the General march'd with his Army through *Grays-Inn-Lane* into *Holborn*, and from thence down *Chancery-Lane*, and so through *Temple-Bar* along the *Strand* to *Whitehall*. The 3 Regiments of Horse march'd first, and he in the Head of them gallantly mounted, with several of his Chief Officers, and many Persons of Honour and Quality about him. The Speaker met him in the Street near *Somerset-House*, where they complemented each other; after which the General march'd on to *Whitehall*, where Lodgings were provided for him, and the Speaker went to the *Rolls*. As soon as the Soldiers were quarter'd, and all the Guards set, he was visited by several of the Council of State, as he was the next day by the Members of Parliament, and many other Persons of the highest Quality.

On *Monday*, which was the 6th of *February*, he was conducted to the Parliament, where a Chair fac'd with Velvet was prepar'd for him. As soon as he had made his Obedience, the Speaker bid him sit down; but he desiring to be excus'd, and standing behind the Chair, the Speaker made him a Speech to this Effect. That tho it was God, and not Man, who had done this great Work, and ought to have the Glory of it; yet

yet the Influence of that Glory extended to him the Instrument, as a Reward of his prudent and wise Conduct: That the House had a just Resentment of his Services, and return'd their hearty Thanks to him and all his Officers and Soldiers.

The General was not a Man of Eloquence or Volubility of Speech: but after having thank'd them for the Honour they had done him, only for doing his Duty; he told them, That in his March from *Scotland* several Applications had been made to him for a full and free Parliament, without any previous Oath or Engagement; and that this Parliament would determine their Sitting. To all which he had answer'd, that they were now a free Parliament, and that they had voted to fill up their House, and then they would be a full Parliament, and that they had already determin'd their Sitting. But as for the seclused Members, this Parliament had already given their Judgment in it, in which all People ought to acquiesce; and that to admit any Members to sit in Parliament, without a previous Oath to preserve the Government in being, was never done in *England*. But now he crav'd Pardon to say to themselves, that the less Oaths or Engagements were impos'd, their Settlement would the sooner be attain'd: That it was their common Concernment to amplify, not to lessen their Interest, and to be careful, that neither the Cavalier, nor the Fanatick Party should have a Share in the Civil, or Military Power.

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This Speech being spoken with more than his natural Warmth, there were some Expressions in it which they dislik'd; and tho others gave 'em some Ease, yet they heartily wish'd he was again in *Scotland*, and that they had been left to contend with the Malignity of their old Army: and they watch'd for some Occasion, wherein he might manifest his Fidelity and Resignation to them, or give them just Reason to suspect and question it.

Such an Occasion as they desir'd, soon offer'd it self. The Parliament being in want of Money for the Army, and other publick Occasions, thought it necessary to require the City to bring in their Arrears of Taxes, and in the mean time to borrow a considerable Sum of them. This could not easily be done without the Consent of the Common-Council, which was constituted of such Persons as were weary of the Parliament, and who not only utterly refus'd to consent to what was demanded, but excepted against their Authority, and declar'd, they would never submit to any Imposition that was not granted by a free and lawful Parliament. It was generally believ'd they had assum'd this Courage upon some Confidence they had in the General; and the Apprehensions of this made the Parliament to be in the greater Trouble and Distraction. This Refusal would immediately put an end to their Empire; they therefore resolv'd upon this Occasion to make a full Experiment of their own Power, and their General's Obedience. For which Reason they command-

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ed him to march into the City with his Army, to remove the Posts and Chains out of the Streets, and break down the Portcullices and Gates of the City. They likewise order'd him to seize on some of the most active in the Common-Council, and commit them to Prison.

The General comply'd with this Order without hesitation, with all the Circumstances of Contempt; pulling down and breaking the Gates and Portcullices. The Parliament were so well pleas'd with his Compliance, that they order'd him 50 Pounds to defray the Expence of his Dinner that day, he having refus'd to dine at the Charges of the City, tho earnestly importun'd to it by divers Citizens. And Sir *Arthur Haslerig* was so elevated with this Instance of his Obedience, that he broke out in the presence of divers Members into these Expressions, *All is our own, he will be honest.* And indeed many at this time fear'd, that if the Parliament had cultivated this tame Resignation of his with any Temper and Discretion, they might have found a full Condescension from him. But they were so infatuated with Pride and Insolence, that they could not discern the Way to their own Preservation.

Whilst he was executing this their Tyranny upon the City, they were contriving how to lessen his Power and Authority, by joining others with him in the Command of the Army. And that very day they receiv'd a Petition, which they themselves had fomented, presented to them by *Praise God Barebone*, a Man notorious in those

those times, in the head of a Croud of Sectaries. This Petition bitterly reproach'd the Memory of the late King; inveigh'd against his present Majesty, and all the Nobility, Clergy and Gentry of the Kingdom, which adher'd to him; and press'd, that an Oath of Renunciation should be taken by all such as should be employ'd in Civil and Military Affairs; and that whosoever should presume so much as to propose or mention the Restoration of the King in Parliament, or any other Place, should be adjudg'd guilty of, and condemn'd for High Treason.

This Petition was receiv'd with great Approbation by the House, whose Thanks were solemnly return'd by the Speaker: Information of all which the General receiv'd at *Whitehall* when he return'd out of the City, and was presently attended by his Chief Officers, who reflected on the Proceedings of the Parliament, assuring him that they would never have admitted such an infamous Address with Approbation, unless they had first resolv'd upon his Ruin and Destruction, which he was assuredly to look for, if he did not prevent it by his Wisdom and Sagacity; at the same time they told him of some under-hand Endeavours, which had been used to work upon the Affections of his Soldiers.

That Evening *Clarges* also went privately to him, and represented the ill Consequences of his Proceedings in the City; telling him he had no way left to redeem his Reputation, but the very next Morning to return thither with his Army, and declare for a free Parliament!

Being awaken'd by this Alarm, he begun to think himself in danger, and that this Body of Men, that was called the Parliament, had not Reputation enough to preserve themselves, and those who adhered to them. He had observ'd in his March how despicable they were in the Estimation of all Men, who gave them no other term or appellation but the *Rump*, as the sag end of a Carcase long since expired. The greatest part of that Night was spent in Debates, and the next Morning he called his Army again together, and marched with it into *London*, taking up his own Quarters at an Alderman's House. At the same time he left *Whitehall*, he sent a Letter to the Parliament, sign'd by himself, and most of his Officers; wherein he takes notice of their abetting unchristian Tene-ments in reference to Religion, and of their corresponding with those very Persons, whom they had declared to be Enemies. In the Conclusion, he advis'd them in such terms, as they cou'd not but understand to be the most peremptory Command, that by *Friday* next they shou'd issue out Writs to fill up their House, and when full, determine their own sitting at a time appointed, and give place to a full and free Parliament. He added, that this was what was expected at their hands, both by the Army, and Kingdom. Assoon as this Letter was deliver'd to the House, it was printed, and carefully dispersed throughout the City, to the end that they, who had been so lately and wofully disappointed, might now see how thorowly he

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was embarked, and so entertain no new Jealousies of him.

The Parliament immediately took his Letter into Consideration, and sent *Scot* and *Robinson*, who had been their Commissioners to him, as is before mention'd, to give him Satisfaction. The General dined that day with the Mayor, and soon after Dinner desired his Lordship to assemble the Common-Council (tho the Parliament had lately dissolved them) and attended on them at *Guild-Hall*, where he excus'd himself for what he had been constrained to do in the City, and assured them, that he was much troubled for that rigorous Work. He declared himself ready to expose his Person to all Dangers for their Service, and that he had not forgot the kind Letter they had sent him whilst he was in the *North*: That he was then of the same Opinion with them, but was oblig'd at that time to conceal it, till he might have an opportunity to discover his Sentiments with better Advantage. He also acquainted them with the Letter he had sent to the Parliament, wherein he required them to fill up the House, and put an end to their sitting by the sixth of *May*. The General gave the City new Resolutions in this Explanation of himself; and when he had done in the Common-Council, the Lord Mayor attended him to his Lodgings, and all the Bells of the City proclaim'd, and testified to the Town and Kingdom, that the Army and the City were of one Mind. As soon as the Evening came, there was a continued Light of Bonfires throughout

throughout the City and Suburbs, with such an universal Exclamation of Joy, as had never been known, and cannot be expressed; with such ridiculous signs of Scorn and Contempt of the Parliament, as testified the Disregard, or rather the notable Detestation they had for it; there being scarce a Bonfire at which they did not roast a Rump, which they said was for the Celebration of the Funeral of the Parliament.

Tho' these Proceedings much amazed, and distracted the Parliament, yet it did not so dishearten them, but they continued still to sit, and proceeded in all things with their usual Confidence. They were not willing to despair of recovering their General again, and to that purpose they sent a Committee to treat with him, and to make all such Proffers to him, as they conceived were most like to comply with his Ambition. The Entertainment he gave this Committee, was the engaging them in a Conference with another Committee of the excluded Members, that he might be satisfied by hearing, both how one cou'd have a Right to sit there as a Parliament, and the other be excluded: and when he had heard them all, he made no scruple to declare, that in Justice the secluded Members ought to be admitted before the calling of another Parliament, and the Dissolution of this.

After he had put the City into the best Posture, and apprehended no danger from thence, he return'd to his Quarters in *Whitehall*, disposing his Army to those Posts, which he judg'd the most convenient. He then sent for some

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of the Members of the Parliament to come to him, and many others that had been excluded. When they were met, he lamented to 'em the sad Condition the Kingdom was in, which he principally imputed to the Divisions in Parliament, between those who were equally faithful to the Commonwealth. He told them he was satisfied of the Integrity of those Gentlemen who had been excluded, and had therefore desired this Conference between them, that he might communicate his own Thoughts to them; and that he might not be mistaken in the Delivery, or misapprehended in his Expressions, he had put what he had to say in Writing, which his Secretary was commanded to read to them. He told them, that the Peace and Settlement of the Nation lay in their hands, and hoped that they would become Healers, and Makers up of all its woful Breaches. He assured 'em as in the presence of God, that he had nothing before his Eyes but God's Glory, and a Settlement of the three Kingdoms upon Commonwealth Foundations; being ready to lay himself down at their Feet, to be any thing or nothing, in order to that great End. As to the way of a future Settlement, he wou'd not impose any thing; only he desired to observe to them, that the old Foundations are so broken, that they cannot be restored but upon the Ruins of the People, who had engaged for their Rights, in defence of the Parliament, and the great and main ends of the Covenant; as also that the Liberty of the People's Representatives in Parliament will

will be entirely destroy'd, if after so long and bloody a War against the King, for breaking in upon their Liberties, he must at last be taken in again; since it is out of question, that he will then govern by his own Will, and dispose of Parliaments as he pleaseth. He told them, a Commonwealth Government was more agreeable to the Interest of the City of London, the Metropolis, and Bank of the Trade for all Christendom; and that moderate, not rigid, Presbyterian Government was the most indifferent, and acceptable way to the Churches Settlement. In Conclusion, he advised them to meet forthwith, and sit together in Parliament, in order to the settling the Conduct of the Armies of the three Nations; to provide sufficient Maintenance for them, as well as for the Navy, with the Arrears of both, and other Contingencies of the Government; to the appointing a Council of State, to settle the Civil Government, and Judicatories in Scotland, and Ireland; and to take care for the issuing of Writs for the summoning a Parliament to meet at Westminster the 20th day of April next, which Parliament so called may meet and act in Freedom, for the more full establishing of this Commonwealth, without a King, single Person, or House of Lords; and lastly, to their own legal Dissolution.

This Conference being ended, they who had been excluded from the Year 1648. repair'd to the House on the 21st of February, and without any Interruption took their Places; and being

ing superior in number to the rest, they first repealed, and abolish'd all the Orders by which they had been excluded; then they provided for him, who had so well provided for them, by renewing, and enlarging the General's Commission, and by revoking all others, which had been granted to any to meddle with, or assign Quarters to any part of the Forces.

They who had sat before, had put the Militia of the Kingdom into the Hands of Sectaries, whose Commissions were now revoked, and the Militia put under the Government of the principal Nobility and Gentry throughout the Kingdom, but with this Restriction, that no Person was to be trusted in that Province, who did not first declare under his Hand; that the War raised by the two Houses of Parliament against the late King was just and lawful, until such time as Force and Violence was used upon the Parliament in the Year 1648.

Soon after this they raised an Assessment of 100000 *l.* by the Month, for the Payment of the Army, and defraying the publick Expences; and the City of *London*, upon the Credit and Security of that Act, advanc'd as much ready Money as was desir'd of them. They likewise repealed the Act for the former Council of State, and the Oath of Abjuration; and passed an Act for another Council to consist of one and thirty Persons, most of them Men of Integrity, and well affected to Kingly Government.

Having provided thus much for the Safety of the Publick, and issued out Writs to call a Parliament

liament to meet on the 25th of *April*; being ready to pass the Act for the Dissolution, Mr. *Crew* moved, that before they dissolved themselves, they wou'd bear their Witness against the horrid Murder of the King: whereupon many with much readiness deny'd their Concurrence to that Act. And when one of them concluded his Discourse with protesting, that he had no hand in that Affair; *Scot* stood up, and declared, That tho he knew not where to hide his head at that time, yet he durst not refuse to own, that not only his Hand, but his Heart also was in it: and after he had produced divers Reasons whereby he pretended to prove the Justice of it, he concluded, that he wou'd desire no greater Honour in this World, than that the following Inscription might be engraven on his Tomb; *Here lieth one, who had a Hand, and a Heart in the Execution of Charles Stuart late King of England.* Having said this, he withdrew, and the Parliament was dissolved, against all the Importunities used by the Sectaries, who in Multitudes flocked together, and made Addresses in the Name of their Party in the City of *London*, that they wou'd not dissolve themselves, but to the unspeakable Joy of all the rest of the Kingdom; who notwithstanding their very different Affections, Expectations and Designs, were unanimous in their Weariness, and Detestation of the Long Parliament.

Upon the Dissolution of the Parliament, the highest Despair seiz'd on all those, who had been the late King's Judges; and all such as had afterwards

terwards concurred with them, and exercised the same Power, who were call'd the Rump, believ'd their Ruin and Destruction to be certain, and at hand. And therefore they contriv'd all the ways they cou'd to preserve themselves, and prevent the assembling of a new Parliament; which if they cou'd interrupt, they made no doubt, but the Rump Members wou'd again resume the Government, notwithstanding their Dissolution by the Power of the secluded Members, who wou'd then pay dear for their Presumption, and Intrusion.

To this purpose, they employ'd their Agents among the Officers, and Soldiers of the Army, who had been disgracefully removed from their Quarters in the *Strand*, and *Westminster*, and the Parts adjacent to *London*, to make room for General *Monk's* Army. They inflamed these Men with the Sense of their own desperate Condition, who besides the Loss of all the Arrears due to them, must now fall a Sacrifice to the Cavaliers, whom they had conquered, and who they supposed, were implacably incensed against them. Nor did they omit to make the same Infusions into the Soldiers of General *Monk's* Army, who had all the same Title to the same Fears, and Apprehensions. And when their Minds were thus prepared, and ready to declare upon the first Opportunity, *Lambert* made his Escape out of the *Tower*: which accident happening at such a Conjunction, put the General, and Council of State into a great Agony. They knew well what Poison had been scatter'd in the Army,

and that *Lambert* was the most popular Man, and had the greatest Influence upon the Soldiers; who they thought wou'd flock, and resort to him as soon as they shou'd know where to find him. Besides, no small danger was threatned from the very drawing the Army together to a Rendezvous, in order to prosecute and oppose him; no man being able to make a Judgment what they wou'd chuse to do in such a Con-juncture, when they were so full of Jealousy and Dissatisfaction.

Whilst the General, and Council of State were under these Anxieties, they receiv'd Advice, that *Lambert* had drawn to him four Troops of Horse, with which he had the Courage to appear near *Daventry* in *Northamptonshire*, where he presumed he shou'd be join'd by a great part of the Army. It is very likely, that if he had not been too hasty and precipitate, but had well digested the Method he meant to proceed in, and had given *Ludlow*, and others, whose Interest it was to shake the Model the General had made, time to prepare, and act in concert with him, he might have given the General and Council more work than they had well known how to encounter.

But he staid not long in *London*, as it was his Interest to have done, but hasten'd into the Country; and trusting a Gentleman in *Buckinghamshire*, of whom he thought himself secure, that Gentleman secretly gave the General immediate Intimation of his being there, and of the Course he meant to take. Hereupon the General

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ral order'd Colonel *Ingoldsby* with his own Regiment of Horse to attend, and watch all his Motions, and endeavour to reduce him. *Ingoldsby* being joined with a good Body of Foot under Colonel *Streater*, soon disperfed *Lambert's* Party, and took him Prisoner. An Accident happen'd, which did not a little contribute to his Defeat. *Ingoldsby* had made so much diligence in waiting upon *Lambert*, who did not suspect him to be so near, that Captain *Haslerig*, Son to Sir *Arthur*, fell in with his forlorn Hope, who knowing his Troop to be with *Lambert*, made him a Prisoner, and brought him to their Colonel, where he said, that being dissatisfied with *Lambert's* Design, he had quitted his Party, and therefore hoped they wou'd set him at Liberty; but the Colonel told him that his deserting them, shou'd be of no advantage to him, unless he wou'd cause his Troop also to quit *Lambert's* Party. This he engaged to do, and the next day his Troop under his Cornet and Quarter-master came to *Ingoldsby*, and inform'd him where *Lambert* was. He thereupon made hast, and was in view before the other had notice, that he was pursued by him.

Lambert, surprized with this Discovery, and the Desertion of one of his Troops, which made his Enemy much superior to him in Number, sent to desire a Treaty, which was readily granted by *Ingoldsby*. *Lambert* among other things propos'd that they might restore *Richard*, and promised to unite all his Credit to the support of that Interest. This Overture being re-
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jected by *Ingoldsby*, both Parties prepared to engage, when another of *Lambert's* Troops forsook him, and put themselves under his Enemy; which when he perceived, he concluded that his Safety wou'd depend upon his Flight, which he thought to secure by the swiftness of his Horse: but *Ingoldsby* keeping his Eye still upon him, and being as well mounted as himself, overtook him, and made him his Prisoner, after he had in vain used much Importunity to him that he wou'd permit him to escape.

With *Lambert* were taken *Cobbet*, *Creed*, and some other Officers of the greatest Interest with the Fanatick Part of the Army, and who were the most apprehended by the General, at a time when the Soldiers were in motion from all Parts, in order to join them. And it is certain, that if *Lambert* had not been crush'd in that Instant, he wou'd in a few days have appear'd very formidable. But this seasonable Victory looked as an happy Omen to the succeeding Parliament.

This Attempt, and Defeat of *Lambert* gave the General an occasion of new modelling, and purging the Army, where there were many restless Spirits, that wou'd be sure upon every opportunity to oppose his Designs. At the same time the new Council of State, during the Interval between the Dissolution of the last, and the Convention of the new Parliament, did many prudent Actions. They released Sir *George Booth* from his Imprisonment, that he might be elected to sit in the ensuing Parliament, as he shortly after was; and they set at Liberty all those,

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who had been committed for adhering to him. Those of the King's Party, who had shelter'd themselves in Obscurity, appeared now abroad, and conversed without Controul; and Mr. *Mordaunt*, who was known to be entirely trusted by the King, walked into all Places with Freedom: and many of the Council, and some Officers of the Army, made through him tenders of their Services to his Majesty.

But that which seemed of most Importance was the Reformation of the Navy, which was full of Sectaries, and under the Government of those, who of all Men were declared the most Republican. *Lawson* had the Command of the present Fleet prepared for the Summer's Service. He was an excellent Seaman, but a notorious Anabaptist, and had filled the Fleet with Officers, and Mariners of the same Principles. Tho it was not thought fit or safe to remove this Man, yet they were resolv'd so far to eclipse him, that he shou'd not have it absolutely in his Power to controul them, as he had done *the Committee of Safety*. Therefore the General and Mr. *Montague*, who had lain privately in his own House under a Cloud, and Jealousy of being too much inclin'd to the King, were made joint Admirals of the Fleet, whereby *Montague* only would go to Sea, and have the Ships under his Command; by which he might take care for good Officers and Seamen for such other Ships as they intended to add to the Fleet, and be able to observe, if not reform the rest. *Montague* sent privately over to the King for his Ap-
probation

probation before he would accept the Charge ; which being speedily sent him, he came to *London*, and enter'd upon his Command.

The General all this while spent much time in Consultation with Persons of every Interest, the King's only excepted ; and tho he convers'd with Men of all Factions with much Freedom, yet he was by many then thought to have most Familiarity, and to converse most freely with *Sir Arthur Haslerig*, who was irreconcilable to Monarchy, and look'd upon as the chief of the Republican Party. This made the Lords and others who were of different Affection, very wary in their Discourses with the General, and jealous of his Inclinations.

But there was no one who was so much in the Conversation and Trust of the General as *Mr. Morrice*, a Gentleman of *Devonshire*, of a fair Estate and Reputation, and one who had been always look'd upon as a Man far from any Malice towards the King, if he had not good Affections for him. This Gentleman was ally'd to the General, and entirely trusted by him in the Management of his Estate in the Country, where he inherited a fair Fortune. *Mr. Morrice* being chosen to serve in the next ensuing Parliament, had made haste to *London*, the better to observe how things were like to go. With him the General consulted freely touching his many Perplexitys and Observations ; and *Mr. Morrice*, who was not wanting to cultivate the good Conceptions he observ'd in him, gave him an Information of the Affections of the *West*, where he

he said the King's Restoration was so impatiently long'd for, that they had made choice of few or no Members to serve for *Cornwall* or *Devonshire*, but such who they were confident would contribute all they could to invite the King to return. The General had before observ'd that the like Choice had been made in most Parts of *England*, and reasonably concluded, that when the House should once meet, there would be that Warmth among them as not to be easily restrain'd or control'd; and that they might take the Business so much into their own Hands, as to leave no Part for him to merit of the King, from whom he had yet deserv'd nothing. When he had thus reflected upon the whole matter, he resolv'd to advance that Design, and so consult-ed with Mr. *Morrice* how he might manage it in that manner before the Parliament should be assembled, that what follow'd might be imputed to his Counsels and Contrivance.

Mr. *Morrice* propos'd Sir *John Greenville* as a Person fit to be trusted in this great Affair, he being known to be a Gentleman of eminent Trust to the King, and of a Family to which the General himself was ally'd. Him therefore the General order'd Mr. *Morrice* to conduct to a private Lodging in *St. James's*; where, after he had solemnly conjured him to Secrecy upon the Peril of his Life, he told him he meant to send him to the King, with whom he presum'd he had credit enough to be believ'd without any Testimony: for he was resolv'd not to write to the King, nor to trust him with any thing

in Writing, for fear of a Discovery; but wish'd him to confer with Mr. *Morrice*, and to take short Memorials in his own hand of those Particulars he should offer to him in Discourse; which when he had done, he would himself confer with him again at an Hour he should appoint: and so he retir'd hastily out of the Room, as if he were jealous that other Men would wonder at his Absence. Mr. *Morrice* advis'd *Greenvil*, that the King should write a Letter to the General, in which after kind and gracious Expressions, he should desire him to deliver an inclos'd Letter and Declaration to the Parliament. The particular Heads, and Materials for which Letter and Declaration, *Morrice* discours'd to him; the End of which was to satisfy all Interests, and to comply with every Man's Humour, and indeed to suffer every Man to enjoy what he would.

After Sir *John Greenvil* had taken such short Memorials as he thought necessary, he was within a day or two brought with the same Warinels, and in another Place, to the General, to whom he read the Notes he had taken; to which the General added another Particular, as an Advice absolutely necessary for the King to consent to, which was his Majesty's present Remove out of *Flanders*, from whence it would not be in his power to escape, if he defer'd it till the *Spaniards*, who had no purpose to serve him, discover'd that he was like to have no need of them; and therefore he desir'd for the publick Satisfaction, that his Majesty would make haste

haste to *Breda*: and he enjoin'd Sir *John Greenvil* not to return till he had seen the King out of the Dominions of *Flanders*. Thus instructed, Sir *John* taking Mr. *Mordaunt* with him for the Companion of his Journey, set out for *Flanders* about the Beginning of *April* 1660. and in a few days arriv'd safely at *Brussels*, where he inform'd his Majesty at large of the Affairs of *England*, and the Instructions and Advices he had receiv'd. The King was very glad, that the General had thus far discover'd himself, and open'd a Door for a Correspondence, and directed such Letters and Declarations to be prepar'd, as should be in a good degree suitable to the Wishes and Counsel of the General.

When all things were prepar'd, and approv'd by the King, his Majesty visited the Marquis of *Caracena* Governour of the *Spanish Netherlands*, and told him, that he intended the next day to go to *Antwerp*, and from thence to *Breda*, to spend two or three days with his Sister the Princess of *Orange*; to whom the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester* were already gone to acquaint her with the King's Purpose. And the better to colour his Design, his Majesty desir'd him that the Forces he had promis'd for his Service might be ready against his Return, to be embark'd on the first Appearance of a hopeful Occasion. The Marquis return'd such an Answer as was proper on that Occasion, and so they parted; and his Majesty went the next day to *Antwerp*, attended by the small Retinue with which he us'd to travel.

His Departure was some hours earlier than his Majesty at first design'd, or the Marquis imagin'd, and the Reason of it was this : Mr. *William Galloway* an *Irish* young Man, at that time a Page in the *Spanish* Court at *Brussels*, came that Night to the Chancellor's Lodgings after he was in Bed, and discover'd to him an Order that was to be given to an Officer, to attend the King the next Morning with a Party of Horse, for a Guard wherever he went (a Respect that had never been paid him before) but not to suffer him on any Terms to go out of the Town. The Chancellor having inform'd the King of this Design to seize him, his Majesty thought fit to hasten his Departure, and accordingly sat out from *Brussels* at three of the Clock in the Morning, attended only by the Marquis of *Ormond*, Sir *William Armorer*, and two or three Servants more. Between eight and nine that Morning an Officer did come and enquire for the King ; but it happen'd by this seasonable Discovery, that his Majesty had made his Escape some hours before, to the no small Mortification no doubt of the *Spanish* Governour.

Assoon as his Majesty came into the States Dominions, he deliver'd to Sir *J. Greenvil* (who attended there *incognito*, that he might warrantably aver to the General, that he had seen his Majesty out of *Flanders*) all those Dispatches, which were prepar'd, and dated as from *Breda*, upon the same day in which he receiv'd them, and where his Majesty was to be that Night. The Copies of all these were likewise deliver'd

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to him, that the General upon perusal thereof, might, without opening the Originals, chuse whether he would deliver them, if any thing was contain'd therein which he dislik'd: and his Majesty refer'd it to him to proceed any other way, if upon any Alterations, which should happen, he thought fit to vary from his former Advice.

Sir *John Greenvil* and Mr. *Mordaunt* return'd to *London* a full Week before the Parliament was to begin; and the General, upon the perusal of the several Dispatches, lik'd all very well. And it ought to be remember'd for his Honour, that from this time he behav'd himself with great Affection towards the King; and tho he was offer'd all the Authority that *Cromwell* had enjoy'd, and the Title of King, he us'd all his Endeavours to promote and advance the Interest of his Majesty: yet he as carefully retain'd the Secret, and did not communicate to any Person living (Mr. *Morrice* only excepted) that he had receiv'd any Letter from the King, till the very minute that he presented it to the House of Commons.

The Parliament, of which the General was return'd a Member to serve as Knight of the Shire for the County of *Devon*, met on the 25th day of *April*. Sir *Harbottle Grimstone* was chosen Speaker by the Contrivance and Interest of those who meant well to the King; and he submitted to it, out of a Hope and Confidence, that the Designs it was laid for would succeed. They begun chiefly with bitter Invectives against

gainst the Memory of *Cromwell*, as an odious and perjur'd Tyrant, and with Execrations upon the Unchristian Murder of the late King; none having the Courage, how loyal soever their Wishes were, to mention his Majesty, till they could make a Discovery what Mind the General was of, who only could protect such a Proposition from being penal to the Person that made it; by the former Ordinances of the Rump Parliament.

When the General had well survey'd the Temper of the House, he went in on the 1st of *May*, and told them that one Sir *John Greenvil*, who was a Servant of the King's, had brought him a Letter from his Majesty, which he had in his Hand, but would not presume to open it without their Direction; and that the same Gentleman was at the Door, and had a Letter to the House. This was no sooner said, but with a general Acclamation he was call'd for; and being brought to the Bar, he said, that he was commanded by the King his Master, having been lately with him at *Breda*, to deliver that Letter, which he was ready to do: and so giving it by the Serjeant to be deliver'd to the Speaker, he withdrew.

Both the Letters and the Declaration were immediately order'd to be read; which being done, so Universal a Joy was never seen within those Walls. A Committee was appointed to prepare an Answer to his Majesty's Letter; and they likewise order'd at the same time, that both his Majesty's Letters, that to the House, and that

that to the General, with his Majesty's Declaration therein inclos'd, and the Resolution of the House thereupon, should be forthwith printed and publish'd.

The Lords, when they saw what Spirit the House of Commons was possess'd of, made haste into their House without excluding any who had been sequestred from sitting there for their Delinquency: and then they likewise receiv'd a Letter from Sir *John Grenvil*, which his Majesty had directed to them, and they read it with the same Duty and Acknowledgment. The King had also directed another to the Lord Mayor and the City, who were in like manner transported with the King's Goodness towards them, and enter'd into close Deliberation what Return they should make him to manifest their Duty and Gratitude. And the Officers of the Army and Fleet, upon the sight of the Letters to their Generals, and his Majesty's Declaration, made those Vows, and publish'd such Declarations of their Loyalty and Duty, as their Generals caus'd to be provided for them, which they sign'd with the loudest Alacrity.

As soon as the Answer prepar'd by the Committee, and agreed to by the House of Commons, was engross'd and sign'd, Sir *John Grenvil* was appointed to attend again: and he being brought to the Bar, the Speaker stood up, and told him, that he need not acquaint him with what grateful Hearts they had receiv'd his Majesty's gracious Letter, he himself was an Ear and Eye-Witness of it: Their Bells and their
Bonfires

Bonfires had already begun the Proclamation of his Majesty's Goodness and of their Joys; that they had now prepar'd an Answer to his Majesty, which should be deliver'd to him; and that they did not think fit he should return to their Royal Sovereign, without some Testimony of their Respects to himself; and therefore, that they had order'd 500 *l.* to be deliver'd to him, to buy a Jewel to wear as an Honour for being the Messenger of so gracious a Message, and in the Name of the House to give him their most hearty Thanks. So great and sudden a Change was this, that a Servant of the King's, who for near ten Years together had been in Prisons, and under Confinements only for being the King's Servant, and would but three Months before have been put to have undergone a shameful Death, if he had been known to have seen the King, should be now rewarded for bringing a Message from him.

The King had not been many days at *Breda*, before the States-General sent Deputies of their own Body to congratulate his Majesty's Arrival in their Dominions, and to acknowledg the great Honour he had vouchsafed to do them. And shortly after other Deputies came from the States of *Holland*, beseeching his Majesty, that he would grace that Province with his Royal Presence at the *Hague*, where Preparations should be made for his Reception, in such a manner, as would testify the great Joy of their Hearts for the Blessings, which Divine Providence was pouring upon his Head. His Majesty

fly accepting their Invitation, they return'd, in order to make his Journey thither, and his Entertainment there, equal to their Professions.

Accordingly all things being in a readines, the King with his Royal Sister and Brothers left *Breda* in the Beginning of *May*, and embark'd themselves on board the States Yachrs, which carry'd them to *Roterdam*, where they enter'd into their Coaches; from whence to the *Hague* they seem'd to pass thro one continu'd Street, by the wonderful and orderly Appearance of the People on both sides, with such Acclamations of Joy, as if they themselves were now restor'd to Peace and Security.

The Entrance into the *Hague*, and the Reception there was very magnificent, and in all respects answerable to the Pomp, Wealth and Greatness of that State. The Treatment of his Majesty, and all who had relation to his Service, at the States Charge, during the time of his Abode there, was incredibly noble and splendid, and the Universal Joy so visible and real, that it could only be exceeded by that of his own Subjects.

The King had been very few days at the *Hague*, when he heard that the *English* Fleet was in sight of *Scheveling* : and shortly after an Officer from Admiral *Montague* was sent to the King to present his Duty to him, and to the Duke of *York* their High Admiral to receive Orders. The Duke went the next day on board the Fleet to take possession of his Command, where he was receiv'd with all possible Duty and Submission.

sion. After he had spent the day there in receiving Information of the State of the Fleet, and a Catalogue of the Names of the several Ships, his Highness return'd with it that Night to the King, that his Majesty might make Alterations, and new christen those Ships, which too much preserv'd the Memory of the late Governors, and of the Republick.

Shortly after a Committee of Lords and Commons arriv'd at the *Hague*, with the humble Invitation and Supplication of the Parliament, that his Majesty would be pleas'd to return, and take the Government of the Kingdom into his hands, where he should find all possible Affection, Duty and Obedience from all his Subjects. At the same time they presented from the Parliament the Sum of 50000 *l.* to his Majesty, 10000 *l.* to the Duke of *Tork*, and 5000 *l.* to the Duke of *Glocester*.

After eight or ten days spent at the *Hague* in Triumphs and Festivals, which could not have been more splendid, if all the Monarchs of *Europe* had met there, and which were concluded with several rich Presents made to his Majesty, the King took his leave of the States, and embark'd. Upon the 24th day of *May* the Fleet sail'd, and in one continu'd Thunder of Cannon arriv'd near *Dover* so early on the 26th, that his Majesty disembark'd; and being receiv'd at the Brink of the Sea by the General (whom he met, and embrac'd with great Demonstrations of Affection) he presently took Coach, and came that Night to *Canterbury*, where he staid

staid the next day being *Sunday*, and went to his Devotions in the Cathedral, which he found much out of repair ; yet the People seem'd glad to hear the Common Prayer again. Thither came very many of the Nobility, and other Persons of Quality, to present themselves to the King : and there his Majesty assembled his Council, and gave the Signet to *Mr. Morrice*, whom he knighted, and swore him Secretary of State. That day his Majesty gave the Garter to the General, the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton* (who had been elected many Years before) and sent it likewise to Admiral *Montague*, who remain'd in the *Downs*.

On *Monday* he went to *Rocheſter* ; and the day following being the 29th of *May*, and his Birth day, he enter'd *London*, all the ways thither being so full of People and Acclamations, as if the whole Kingdom had been gather'd there. Between *Deptford* and *Southwark* the Lord Mayor and Aldermen met him with all such Protestations of Joy as can hardly be imagin'd. The Concourse was so great, that the King rode in a Croud from the Bridge to *Whitehall*, where he was attended by the two Houses of Parliament, who solemnly cast themselves at his Feet with all Vows of Affection and Fidelity to the World's End. In a word, the Joy was so inexpressible and so universal, that his Majesty said smilingly to some about him, he doubted it had been his own Fault he had been absent so long, for he saw no body that did not protest he had ever wish'd for his Return,

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the next day being Sunday, and went to
 the Cathedral, which he found
 out of repair; for the people seemed glad
 to see the Common Prayer again. Thither
 came very many of the Nobility, and other
 persons of quality, to present themselves to the
 King, and there his Majesty attended his Coun-
 cil, and gave the Duke of Norfolk, whom
 he had named, and gave him Secretary of State.
 The Duke of Norfolk gave the Duke of York
 the Marquis of Winchester, and the
 Duke of Devonshire (who had been elected
 Duke of Devonshire) and sent likewise to Ad-
 miral Russell, who remained in the Tower.
 The Duke of York went to Rowley, and the
 Duke of Devonshire being the Earl of Essex, and his
 brother, he came to London, all the way be-
 ing being to fill of people and Acclamations, as
 if the whole Kingdom had been gathered there.
 The Duke of Devonshire the Lord May-
 or, and Aldermen, and all the City, and the
 Citizens of London, being in the
 streets, was to see that the King rode in
 a chariot from the bridge to Whitehall, where
 he was attended by the two Houses of Parlia-
 ment, who solemnly cast themselves at his feet
 with all Vows of Affection and Fidelity to the
 World's Head, with a word, the Joy was to in-
 crease, and it universal, that his Majesty
 had nothing to learn about him, he doubted
 it had been his own Fault he had been absent
 to long, for he saw no body that did not protest
 he had ever wish'd for his Return.

